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ART. I. — *Life of Cotton Mather*, by WILLIAM B. O. PEABODY. (SPARKS's *American Biography*, Vol. VI.) Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 190.

IT often happens, that the writers most praised and admired in their own time, are not those who command the admiration of posterity. There are fashions of thought, as well as of style, peculiar to every period, that have their day and then become obsolete; just as fashions in dress, or in manners, change according to the varying circumstances and tastes of different generations.

These artificial habits of reflection and expression being more easily caught, and also more likely to insure an immediate popularity, are adopted, either purposely or involuntarily, by the greater proportion of those, who, as authors, seek to instruct, or amuse, or influence the public. All writers are more or less biased by the prevailing tastes; and the number is always small, in whom the stimulus of original genius, overcoming or transcending the effect of outward influences, enables their intellectual productions to assume a natural, and therefore enduring, character. When the common instincts, common affections, and common principles of feeling and perception, belonging to our nature, are so strikingly exhibited as not to be obscured by the temporary forms of expression in which they are presented, they derive a charm and a classic dignity from the very lapse of time, which gives to language,

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that may have been once commonplace and vulgar, an air of elevation and originality.

Candidates for such increasing fame are, however, rare; and the vast majority, who, instead of holding a mirror up to nature, have merely reflected the passing characteristics of their time, as these grow uncouth and strange, are pushed aside by others, whose portraitures are of a more familiar and more pleasing kind. Yet it is among this unoriginal class of authors, that may be found some of the best illustrations of human progress, and the diversities of human condition; and the writer whose page is but the glass of fashion, exhibiting only the fantasies and humors, prevailing sentiments, and peculiar prejudices, of his contemporaries, is to be valued by posterity, though for reasons quite different from those on which his own hopes of remembrance probably rested.

Perhaps the history of this country furnishes no better instance of the class just described, than Cotton Mather.

His popular reputation is that of a superstitious and credulous man, who believed in witchcraft, and collected a good many nonsensical stories, which no one else would have thought worthy of preservation. Those who know more about him have generally imbibed the impression, that he was a man of great erudition, but possessing little judgment; that his learning degenerated into pedantry and his religion into fanaticism; and that his awkward attempts at humor were apt to be derogatory to his subject and his personal dignity.

We have hinted at another light in which he may be viewed, and it seems to us the most correct and appropriate one. It is as representing, not so much his own peculiarities, as the principles and habits in which he had been educated, and which were the peculiarities of the time, or rather of a time somewhat preceding his own. An elegant writer says of James the First, "He embodied all of his own time except the glory; he had the learning and the pedantry, he had not the genius; he had unlimited credulity, and an insatiable appetite for the marvellous; he had the notion, that in apothegms, and aphorisms, and historical fables, and poetical maxims, lay the craft of government, and the philosophy of experience; he quoted all the Latin he could remember, and he believed unhesitatingly in ghosts and witches. *All these were not the peculiarities of James the First, they were the characteristics of the great bulk of English scholars in his time.*"* Now this de-

* *Edinburgh Review*, for October, 1836.

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scription, with a slight modification, would be exactly applicable to Cotton Mather. A similar statement would be true of any individual, who, with simple aptitude for learning, without original genius, had been trained from childhood in all the arts and technicalities of the literature and science of his day. He would be an imitator, and his imitations would fall, as is ever the case, upon things the most artificial and most removed from a semblance of nature.

Cotton Mather lived at a period when the strange and unnatural condition both of religion and literature, which for one or two generations had existed in the world, though nearly passed away in the older countries, had, in this retired nook of New England, hardly gone beyond its crisis. Many are the follies and absurdities, properly belonging to his predecessors, for which his reputation has suffered, in consequence of his being among the last into whose hands they fell. In like manner has New England been made to bear the ridicule of superstitions, which, transplanted in their strength from the mother country, lingered here a while after they had been worn away amid the more rapid revolutions of opinion, taking place in older and more populous nations.

The life of Cotton Mather was first written by his son Samuel. This narrative is rather an enumeration of the honors which his father had received, or was entitled to receive, from the public, and a eulogy upon his virtues, of which a catalogue is carefully given, than a personal history portraying either his life or his character. Such, however, was then the common style of biography. The more agreeable writer, who has contributed a life of Cotton Mather to the collection of biographical notices, published by Mr. Sparks, has, on the livelier plan of the modern memoirs, supplied, so far as materials could be found, the facts and incidents omitted by the son. He has peeped into diaries; lifted the veil from secret confessions; and drawn upon private papers for details of the kind that public expectation requires from those who now undertake such delineations. Alas, for heroes! — their day is gone by. The reverence and awe, that once were left in undisturbed mystery, to surround the names and hallow the memory of great men, vanished before the human infirmities, disclosed by the familiarity of household habits. How few can stand the test of a private journal! much less of such severe and minute self-

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inquisitions and self-developements, as constituted the religious diaries, that were a part of the rigorous discipline of the Puritan faith. The unreserved nature of Cotton Mather was little calculated to resist the influence of such inquiries. An abundance of the ludicrous was found to tempt the writer of his biography into an indulgence of that subdued, but noticeable, vein of satirical humor, which becomes a leading tone of his narrative. When such is the keynote, however inadvertently struck, those incidents are apt involuntarily to be selected, which best harmonize with it.

With the fairest intentions, and generally correct representations, it seems to us, that this Biography has left to rest upon the personal reputation of its subject, much of the absurd and ridiculous, that the age alone should answer for. Cotton Mather imitated more than he originated; and, though a credulous nature may have made him a too ready recipient, there is reason to believe that his superstition and his false wit were imbibed with his education, rather than that they were the offspring of his natural disposition. Having a constitutional facility of acquisition, he was set apart from his earliest childhood, to be trained in religion, in learning, and in literary accomplishments, according to the meaning then attached to those terms. With assiduous industry he applied himself to the studies proper for a scholar; with simple sincerity he embraced the religious opinions and habits recommended to him by the example of wise and good men, and formed his style upon the most approved models of his day. He was probably wanting in nice discrimination. It is said of him, that "his mind hardly seemed to discover any difference of magnitude or proportion between any two subjects that happened to come before it." This may explain why it is, that, in his works, especially in his "Magnalia," he pours forth, in such a miscellaneous manner, the results of his studies and reflections; and also, why the minor peculiarities of the age stand out more prominently, both in his actions and writings, than in those of most of his contemporaries.

Cotton Mather was born in Boston, February 12th, 1662–3. His first ancestor in this country was Richard Mather, who came over in 1635, and became pastor of the church in Dorchester; a man of great weight of character, and possessing much consideration with both the people and the clergy.

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His next ancestor, and parent, was Increase Mather, who not only stood most conspicuous among the scholars and divines of New England, as President of Harvard College and pastor of a church in Boston, but, by his political influence, was supposed at times to have controlled the administration of the government. His mother was daughter of John Cotton, another distinguished minister of Boston. He was therefore descended, in right of both parents, from what was deemed the aristocracy of New England, when clergymen were the nobles of the religious dynasty, which our fathers sought to establish in the new world. The family of Mathers was remarkable for the retentive memory and studious inclinations, that seemed to be constitutional with its members; qualities that appeared rather to increase than diminish, at least down to the subject of the present notice, a brother of whom, who died early, is said to have exhibited them more remarkably than he.

An epitaph upon *Richard Mather* runs thus;

> "Under this stone lies Richard Mather,
> Who had a *son* greater than his father,
> And eke a *grandson* greater than either."

Thus happily born, and possessing such favorable capacities, it was set down as a matter of course, that Cotton Mather must make a *great man.* This expectation followed him from the beginning of his studies. He entered college with a compliment from the President, Dr. Hoar, on his hereditary prospects; and was graduated almost by acclamation, President Oakes, in his Latin oration at Commencement, thus expressing himself; "Mather is named *Cotton* Mather. What a name! But, my hearers, I confess I am wrong; I should have said what *names!* I shall say nothing of his reverend father, since I dare not praise him to his face; but should he represent and resemble his venerable grandfathers, John Cotton and Richard Mather, in piety, learning, elegance of mind, solid judgment, prudence and wisdom, he will bear away the palm; and I trust, that in him Cotton and Mather will be united and flourish again." *

In this manner prophetically ushered into life, he had nothing to do, but to proceed systematically to a fulfilment of the expectation.

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* Peabody's *Life of Cotton Mather.*

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The making of a great man by rule, is not favorable to the developement either of force or of originality. As might have been anticipated, Cotton Mather attempted, without consulting the natural direction of his mind, to grasp and secure indiscriminately all the elements of distinction; to travel at once all the paths to fame. He must become familiar with the scholastic learning and ponderous theology, that then oppressed the intellects of the erudite. He was so. He must exercise himself in the religious habits and practices, which had wrapped in a mantle of sanctity the memories of godly and self-denying men before him. He did so, faithfully and perseveringly, as his diaries attest. He must shine in all the arts that give point and brillancy to the compositions of the wit and the poet. That too he attempted, and thought he had accomplished it. The trouble was, that all these particulars were gained just at a time, when the old systems were getting out of date. He was consequently in a state of astonishment to the end of his life, that his labors were productive of no greater results of fame and reverence. He had followed to the letter the directions of the best masters; nay, even grown wiser than his teachers. He had crowded his writings with more quotations; he had made more anagrams, and generated a greater variety of other similar conceits, than any of his brethren; and, moreover, had observed more private fasts and secret mortifications, — which were well known to the public, — and yet he felt that he had occasion to repeat this caution, that "gratitude was not to be expected from the hands of men."

Cotton Mather is said by his biographer to have been unfortunate, in being affected by the decline of that political influence which the clergy had held so many years, and which his father was the last to retain. He was not less affected by the fact, that the artificial habits, personal, literary, and religious, in which he was educated, ceasing to be sustained by fashion, required for the maintenance of their former respect and influence, something which he did not possess, — original genius. He was always admired for his industry and talents. The fame of his learning procured him honors from foreign lands. His voice calmed the tumult of revolution at home, when the people, having deposed Governor Andros, were proceeding to violent and bloody extremities. As it rested with his father to decide who

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should succeed Andros in the government, so he himself had the honor of procuring for Governor Dudley his appointment from the British crown. Yet, in the latter portion of his life, he was criticized for his style, ridiculed for his superstition, and subjected to imputations of improper political ambition and intrigue.

Instead of dwelling upon his personal history, we proceed to a consideration of those characteristics in which he represented a period precedent to himself, in a great degree that in which he lived, and, to some extent, that which immediately followed him. We content ourselves with stating here, that, when but eighteen years old, he began to preach, and was settled as a colleague with his father at the age of twenty-two; that he soon came to be considered a prodigy of learning, as he really was; that he published three hundred and eighty-two distinct works, most of them of course small; that, in 1690, he received from the University of Glasgow, the diploma of Doctor of Divinity, "having" (as his son says, with a pardonable love of amplification upon his father's honors) "*the great seal of the Academy affixed unto it*"; that, in consequence of this appointment, he procured a signet ring, as a token and assertion of his doctorate in divinity, — "not from any vanity of ornament, but out of obedience to the fifth commandment, which directs us to assert the honor of any dignity, in which the providence of God may station us;" that, in 1713, he was made Fellow of the Royal Society; that he had an unhappy prominence during the delusions in relation to witchcraft; that he was twice disappointed in not being elected President of Harvard College, which seemed like depriving him of his inheritance; that he was the first, in this country, to advocate inoculation for the small-pox; that he was admired, and flattered, and imitated, by more than ventured to question his claims to merit; that, finally, he died at the age of sixty-five, and was honored with a public funeral, hardly exceeded even by that of his father, which latter was described by Cotton Mather, as "greater than had ever been seen for any divine, in these (and some travellers say in any other) parts of the world."

What, then, were the results of that education, which was intended to render Cotton Mather a model as a divine and as a scholar, according to the notions of men at the latter part of the seventeenth century? Let us first consider his

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religious character; and, if his superstitious tendencies are comprehended under the same head, it is because these so readily and imperceptibly run into each other, and are in themselves so far blended in their nature, that any attempt to separate them would only be productive of great confusion.

He early began a system of prayer and fasting, which he afterwards carried quite as far as nature could sustain it. "He thought himself *starved*," (says his son,) "unless he fasted once a month." His fasts were often observed at much shorter intervals; sometimes weekly, and sometimes twice in the week. He at one time resolved to abstain from food three days together, and "to spend the time in knocking at the door of heaven." That mental excitement, which in this philosophical age would be attributed to the high exhilaration generally produced by extreme inanition, was often felt by him. On one occasion, he says, "Heaven seemed open to me, so that I longed to die; I was hardly able to bear the ecstasies of divine love; they exhausted me, they made me faint, they were insupportable, so that I was obliged to withdraw from them, lest the raptures should make me swoon away." It is not surprising (remarks his late biographer), that these observances should have an effect upon his character, inclining him to grasp at every thing which seemed like an emanation from the invisible world.

Another part of his system was, to seek improvement from all the common and ordinary incidents of life; and he provided himself with a set of ejaculations to be used on such occasions. It may not be amiss to quote a few of these, as showing into what minute details this exercise for spiritual improvement was carried. If his family happened to be brewing, he would say, "Lord, let us find, in a glorious Christ, provision for our thirsty souls." On washing-day he said, "Oh wash us thoroughly from sin." When he knocked at a door, it suggested the text, "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you." Looking on a gentlewoman stricken with years, he said to himself, "Lord, adorn that woman with the virtues which thou prescribest for aged women;" on one very beautiful, "Lord, give that person an humble mind, and let her be most concerned for those ornaments, that are of great price in thy sight." So, in walking the streets, when he saw a tall man, or a very little man, or a lame man, or a negro, or a young girl, or an old man, he was reminded of

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some scriptural passage or appropriate moral sentiment. No action was too trivial to be made the mnemonics of a prayer or a precept. He mended his fire, put out his candle at night, and paid his debts, with an inward ejaculation of praise, such as, to most minds, the last act alone would be calculated to suggest.

Another practice was the framing an evidence, of marks and signs, of an assurance of a better life. This operation consisted in writing down a catalogue of all his known sins. These were then divided into actual sins, sins of infirmity, and controversial sins. By the last were meant such acts of *amusement*, as in those times, when pleasure was accounted sinful, were deemed of doubtful morality. This table was to be set off by an enumeration of virtues, holy thoughts and emotions, spontaneous deeds of goodness, voluntary instances of self-denial and abasement. By casting the balance, the actual amount of religious capital became apparent.

These inquisitions were accompanied, or concluded, by watching the feelings and desires that arose without effort in his mind, and thence drawing assurance of grace and acceptance, or reasons for doubt and alarm. To our comment upon the effect of the system of fasting, it might be added, respecting these observances, that it is not surprising, that spiritual pride and complacent self-congratulation should sometimes be the result of such trials. We accordingly find in his diaries many passages, which his biographer quotes as remarkable specimens of self-delusion, "in which he reminds himself of his own *grandeurs*, as he calls them, in the same tone that the rich man uses, when he professes himself to be poor, a profession he will thank no one for believing." After stating his reasons for self-applause, he adds, in real or imagined humility, that "proud thoughts fly-blowed his best performances"; and declares himself "viler than a beast, unsavory salt, fit for nothing but the dunghill."

The practices above described grew out of the feeling, constantly present to his mind, that the path of man's life lay between the two great contending powers of the spiritual world, the good and the evil; that both of these continually pressed upon his course, and watched every step of his progress; and as he inclined this way, or that, he fell under the influence of the one or the other. The Deity noticed every good impulse, and immediately rewarded it. The Devil

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took advantage of every obliquity to strengthen his power and dominion. All events were providences; and all circumstances were signs to be studied and interpreted; from the act of the dissenting mouse, that gave his testimony against episcopacy, by eating the *common prayer* clean out of the library of the younger Winthrop, without meddling with any thing else, up to the graver remarkables recorded by Cotton Mather himself.

There are passages in his diary, that strikingly illustrate his state of feeling on such subjects.

"I called unto mind," says he, "that the primitive Christians, in obedience to that command of watching unto prayer, sometimes had their vigils; accordingly, I resolved to make some essay towards a vigil. I dismissed my dear consort unto her repose, and, in the dead of the night, I retired into my study, and there casting myself prostrate on the floor before the Lord, I was rewarded with communications from heaven, that cannot be uttered. There I lay for a long time, wrestling with the Lord, and I received some strange intimations from heaven, about the time and the way of my death, and about mercies intended for my family, and about several points about which my mind may be too solicitous. If those be vigils, I must, so far as the sixth commandment will allow, have some more of them."

They consequently became a favorite practice. It would be likely to happen, that these ecstasies should sometimes be followed by an opposite state of things. We accordingly find this remark recorded by him.

"Now, as I have often observed it, so it still continues a matter of observation to me, that, when I have been admitted to some near and intimate communion with heaven, I must immediately encounter some vexation on earth; either bodily illness, or popular clamor, or Satanic buffets, immediately following. I expected something on this occasion. Accordingly, when I was preaching on the day following, one of my chimneys took fire, and a great congregation ran out of the meetinghouse to the relief of my house, and I was thus marked out for *talk* all over the town."

Now, apart from the consideration that these habits and practices belong to a peculiar historical period, they might be attributed, as especial infirmities, to Cotton Mather. Yet in fact, they were neither confined to him, nor to the clergy, nor even to the Puritans. In D'Israeli's "Curiosities of Lit-

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erature," is an article entitled, "View of a particular Period of the State of Religion in our Civil Wars." In this he says,

"Looking over the manuscript diary of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, I was struck by a picture of the domestic religious life which, at that period, was prevalent among families. Sir Symonds was a sober antiquary, heated with no fanaticism; yet I discovered in his diary, that he was a visionary in his constitution, macerating his body by private fasts, and spiritualizing in search of secret signs. The writer of this diary did not belong to the nonconformists. A private gentleman and a phlegmatic antiquary, Sir Symonds, withal, was a zealous Church of England Protestant. Yet, amidst the illusions of an age of religious controversies, we find this quiet gentleman tormenting himself and his lady, by watching for certain evident marks and signs of an assurance of a better life, with I know not how many sorts of graces."

In extracts from this diary, scenes are exhibited similar to those already described. It is not difficult to understand how a belief in witchcraft, and a faith in prodigies and signs, should be connected with the theological system, which inculcated the constant and immediate, though invisible, presence of demons, and the direct interference of supernatural agency in the ordinary affairs of life. It is remarkable, how entirely the superstition of Cotton Mather was of a religious nature. The wise and the learned of his day, and before it, had faith in judicial astrology; but of this he ventures boldly to express his skepticism; a remarkable fact, certainly, considering his reputation for unbounded credulity. He had in his library the transcendental speculations of Van Helmont, but neither these nor the magnetic vagaries of the same writer, corroborated by Sir Kenelm Digby, with his sympathetic powders, made any impression upon Cotton Mather, visionary as he was. So, too, he rejected all kinds of charms, and incantations, and exorcisms; all the vulgar antidotes to witchcraft, and the common machinery of magic; and ridiculed the notion, not now out of belief, that a seventh son is born with extraordinary qualities. The only weapon with which he sought to resist the powers of evil, or control them, was the arm of the law; or, what he preferred to that, prayer and fasting. But to every thing of a supernatural kind, a belief in which he deemed warranted by the Bible, he gave, not a weak and hesitating credence, but a firm religious be-

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lief. He will hardly admit, that those who give no credit to portents and prodigies are entitled to be called "*gentlemen*," although he acknowledges,

"that there ought to be much accuracy in the observation of them; that those things ought not to be called prodigies which are only extraordinaries; and that it is a simple thing to believe every word. Nevertheless those people, I am sure, were regarded none of the wisest, who regard not the works of the Lord, nor the operation of his hands; and the communion between us and the angels, either good or bad, which are invisible about us, is more frequent, and upheld and applied unto more purposes, than mankind is happy enough to be well aware." *

The subject of witchcraft was a favorite study with Cotton Mather; yet not in the spirit with which the curious of a superstitious age sometimes sought to pry into the mysteries of the black art, but in that of a Christian minister, bound by his office to detect, and expose, and resist the devices of the Devil. In this effort, the literal character of his mind becomes conspicuous, and he writes himself down, not a simpleton, nor yet a visionary, (he was not poetical enough for that,) but as one who, from the practical and unpoetical cast of his temperament, sought to reduce to a tangible and regular creed, those matters, which, floating in other minds in a shape more indistinct and mystical, were not less firmly believed, if less particularly defined. The book, that apparently betrays more weakness in Cotton Mather than any other of his writings or acts, was compiled at the particular request of the clergy and leading men of the country. We refer to his narration of "Remarkables of Divine Providence among the People of New England." This collection of absurdities was not only proposed and recommended at a meeting of the clergy, but, to give it the highest sanction for wisdom and knowledge, was made up under the especial supervision *of the President and Fellows of the College.*

About four years previous to the breaking out of the delusions at Salem, Cotton Mather had an opportunity afforded him to study the nature of witchcraft, and its modes of operation at his leisure. The four children of a man named Goodwin, the eldest of whom was but thirteen years old,

* *Wonderful Works of God commemorated;* Appendix, touching Prodigies.

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charged an Irish woman, who lived in the neighbourhood, with bewitching them. They exhibited all the agonies and contortions, and went through with the eccentric manœuvres, which, in all parts of the world, and at different and remote periods of time, have, on such occasions, borne a wonderful similarity to each other. How this coincidence has happened, may be explained, perhaps, by supposing that these symptoms and practices have been handed down in nursery stories. But, upon the best hypothesis, the conduct of children apparently destitute of motive, and at an age when perseverance and consistency of purpose are not common, remains as incomprehensible as the modern witcheries of animal magnetism.

The eldest of these children, a girl, was taken into his house for the purpose of more particular examination. She continued for some weeks a member of his family, and kept up an almost constant exhibition of unaccountable cantraps, such as constituted the usual evidences of bewitchment. During this period, all the children were frequently visited and prayed over by the clergy. After much and particular scrutiny, and frequent fasting and prayer for aid from Heaven, Cotton Mather thought he had obtained an insight to the system of diabolical tactics pursued by the powers of evil and their human allies. He therefore preached often upon the subject, and also published an account of his observations. In relation to the last, a prophetic spirit seems to have suddenly inspired the girl, who was the principal subject of his narrative. Being one day in his study,

"She got," says he, "a history that I had written of this witchcraft, and though she had before read it over and over, yet now she could not read, I believe, one entire sentence of it, but she made of it the most ridiculous travestie in the world, with such a patness of fancy, to supply the sense that she put upon it, that I was amazed. And she particularly told me, *that I should quickly come to disgrace by that history.*"

It was to this book, that Richard Baxter wrote a preface, when it was printed in London, in which he states, that "he who will not be convinced by all the evidence Dr. Mather presents, that the child was bewitched, must be a very obdurate Sadducee."

It is generally supposed, that the unfortunate scenes at Salem are to be attributed to the influence of Cotton Mather. It may be, that this is true; but do not the allegations in Mr.

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Upham's "Lectures on Witchcraft" require to be sustained by stronger proof than has yet been adduced? He says, "There is much reason to fear, that, to a great extent, they were the effect of deliberate design. The peculiar theology of that period presented inducements to ambitious and enthusiastic individuals, among the prominent members of the clergy, to bring about a state of things in which their power would be felt to a greater extent than before." Cotton Mather is then charged with being a leader in this conspiracy, and as aspiring to be considered the great champion of the church, and the most successful combatant against "the prince of the power of the air."

These assertions do not coincide with the opinion we have formed of the character of either the prominent members of the clergy, or of Cotton Mather. That he was forward in promoting the prosecutions, is undoubtedly true; though his son says he was averse to bloody measures, and offered to take charge of six of the possessed people himself, to cure them by prayer and fasting, if other people would take the rest in the same way. That he may have felt some of the pride of championship, is equally probable, and also that he contemplated the witchcraft delusion as having been instrumental in promoting a revival of religion; but an artful conspiracy, in relation to that subject, could never have existed in minds filled with such sincere and earnest conviction, as impelled the clergy not less than others at that day. A belief, which Melancthon, Martin Luther, Lord Bacon, Sir Mathew Hale, Sir Thomas Browne, and Robert Boyle, had sanctioned, needed no motives of policy to stimulate or sustain it. That wild and bloody epidemic, which had ravaged Italy, France, Germany, Switzerland, England, Scotland, and Sweden, occasioning the death, by public execution, of more than thirty thousand individuals, might, at last, break out in New England, during a dark period of private trials and public anxieties, such as then prevailed, without affording a just ground of imputation upon the good sense or good intentions of any one.

In an essay written at the time, by one Dr. Hutchinson, the origin of that unhappy excitement is attributed to Richard Baxter and the two Mathers. Of these persons, the first deserves the largest share of the opprobrium, that can rest upon any one of them. He had been in the midst of similar

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scenes in the mother country, had witnessed their rise, their height, and their decline; yet, with eyes unopened, he wrote to America, urging like persecutions here, and threw the whole weight of his experience and reputation into the scale of fanaticism and bloodshed. Cotton Mather says, very truly, in vindication of himself and his brethren, "We followed the precedent of England and Scotland."

It is time to pass from the religious and superstitious to the literary characteristics of Cotton Mather.

In one sense, the divines of that day were more distinguished for learning than those of our own time. So far as familiarity with the learned languages is concerned, they certainly surpassed most modern students. The particular knowledge of Hebrew, possessed by our reverend forefathers, is often alluded to, in a way of comparison, unfavorable to the present standard of clerical scholarship. Learning then, however, was to a greater degree an external thing; a matter of memory; lying rather upon the surface of the mind, than incorporating itself with it by any process of intellectual digestion. Theological speculation consisted in subtile disquisitions, incapable of profitable practical application. The art of reasoning reached little further than a mechanical arrangement of sentences. Science was composed of theories, not founded upon analysis, or drawn from observation. The few glimpses of truth, that were breaking through the veil of ignorance, shed but a bewildering light over the mysteries of nature. Astronomy twinkled through the cloudy mists of astrology. Chemistry lay hid in the secret operations of alchemy, aiming to create new matter rather than to analyze that which already existed. Philosophers were magicians. This, to be sure, was the blindness of an older period. But, when the head of a College,* in a scientific treatise upon comets, regards them only in the light of omens, signs of ill to human kind; and, although admitting eclipses to be regular occurrences, constantly taking place, governed by fixed laws, and proceeding from known causes, yet is not prepared to say, they are not also signs and portents, and, indeed, had noticed, "that within twelve months after an eclipse of the sun, great events had happened, and several distinguished men had died," when such are the vagaries

* Increase Mather.

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of the scientific, it cannot be said, that the night of dialectic obscurity was yet succeeded by more than a dawning of daylight, still dim and uncertain. As learning was not wisdom, it did not imbue the understanding with the essential qualities of knowledge, or nourish the intellect, as it is its office to do. So we see it worn outside, as an ornament. Instead of seeking to draw forth the fragrance, or extract the essential virtues, from the tree of knowledge, its branches were gathered in the bodily form of quotations, and stuck over the page of a writer, till the emanations of his own mind were nearly lost in the umbrage.

Thus Cotton Mather seems hardly able to clothe his thoughts in his own expressions. The "acute Voigtius," or those eminent persons "Joachim Hildebrand," "Seckendorf," "Osiander," &c. &c., seem strangely to have anticipated all his ideas, and preoccupied the words most appropriate for them. As *such a writer* hath it, or as *the learned somebody* expresses it, or in the words of this Hebrew phrase or that Greek maxim, often constitute a great portion of his original matter, for pages together.

The legitimate use of quotations seems not to have been understood. Cotton Mather speaks of his habit in this way, as "SALTING *my sentences now and then, with short, instructive, and unforced intermixtures of something or other I have read of.*" The flavor of the original substance is quite apt to be overpowered by the strength of the brine.

The old-fashioned sermons, almost within our own recollection, were made up of texts of Scripture, taken without much regard to their appropriate connexion, and hung upon a very slender thread of discourse. This style of writing was already beginning to be disused in England, and Cotton Mather found it necessary to defend himself and his father from foreign criticisms, in which it was ridiculed as peculiar to the American University. He says, in his introduction to the life of his father, or, to use his own title, "The Remarkables of Dr. Increase Mather,"

"What the scorner* more particularly bestows his flouts upon is, Dr. Mather's *preaching!* Strange! his PREACHING! of all things, his preaching! Yes, he says, "This *Mather* preached often in Dissenters' meetings in London. His style was more affected and quaint than that of the nonconformists, who are

* Oldmixon.

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most famous in this way, and would confirm all that has been said of the *Harvard* eloquence."

As a set-off to this he refers to another writer, who remarks, that

"The Presbyterian divines have been observed of late to preach more after the manner of the Church of England men. I dare affirm this will be their ruin; and I venture to advise, that, if the Nonconformists would preach more after the manner of Dr. Mather, and *be* so affected and quaint, if it must be called so, as to have much of the sacred Scripture well applied in every paragraph of their sermons, it would be no disservice to the kingdom of God."

The forced comparisons and far-fetched illustrations that deform the style of Cotton Mather, were imitated from the writers then most studied and admired. Du Bartas, a contemptible French poet, of the reign of Henry the Fourth, was, through Sylvester's translation of his works, the standard of taste in the early days of New England. His grotesque productions had passed through thirty editions, and everybody, who attempted the writing of verses, made him the model. The highest compliment that could be paid to Mrs. Bradstreet, the best poet of the first generation in New England, was supposed to be in an anagram drawn from her name, which made her out a *second Du Bartas*. Those monstrosities, which, under the name of *conceits*, were admired as ingenious in proportion as they were forced and unnatural, were a part of the literary peculiarities that descended to Cotton Mather from the most respectable sources, just at a time when a better taste was driving them from the honorable station they had held in the republic of letters. By him they were ostentatiously displayed, with an apparent unconsciousness of their dilapidated reputation. The most prominent of these were *anagrams* and *puns*.

The practice of transposing the letters of a name so as to form a new word, or words, supposed to be significant of the qualities of an individual, or of his destiny, was deemed, from its remote origin, to have not only a classical, but a sacred sanction. We are told, that anagram-making was classed by the Hebrews among the cabalistic arts; that the discovery of occult qualities in proper names was an early exercise in the East, and was adopted thence by the Greeks; that Plato practised it, and mystified himself by the anagrammatic virtues

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of names. The Puritans found examples of it in Scripture. It was therefore with them a lawful amusement and a favorite one.

There is an amusing story of the wife of Sir John Davies, a poet and distinguished lawyer in the time of Charles the First. She fancied the spirit of Daniel was in her, because she found in her name the words *Reveal, O Daniel!* and accordingly began to prophesy against the government. After the Court and the Bishops had dealt with her in vain, she was at last completely subdued by another anagram, that an ingenious clergyman made of the words, Dame Eleanor Davies; "*Never so mad a Ladie.*"

But perhaps the strangest custom to characterize the sober literature of a sober period, was *punning*. Least of all should we expect to find it enlivening the pages of a reverend author in a History of the Church, or in elegiac notices of departed brethren. Our impressions of the fathers of New England are generally of a grave and serious kind. The Puritan, according to common notions, was one too stern or too demure for levity. So, likewise, our recollections of the old-fashioned meetinghouse, and of the old-fashioned minister, are surrounded by graveyard associations too solemn for a jest. If an adventurer into the catacombs of Egypt, the dark dwellings of embalmed kings, where each in his sarcophagus has lain thousands of years, should suddenly behold the Pharaohs and Ptolemies jeering through their cerements, or hear Menes breaking a jest with Sesostris, it would hardly seem more out of keeping with the place, than the puns of our pious ancestors with the stiff and sombre character of a Puritan preacher.

Puns have, in modern times, entirely lost caste as an ornament of serious literature. Yet they have seen better days. Addison, who was contemporary with Cotton Mather, says they were described by Aristotle among the beauties of good writing, and laid down by Cicero with other rules of oratory, but declares, (forgetting this out-of-the-way corner of the earth,) that they are in his time entirely banished out of the learned world.

"Yet," says he, "it is indeed impossible to kill a weed which the soil has a natural disposition to produce, for the seeds of punning are in the minds of all men. The age in which punning chiefly flourished, was in the reign of King James the First. That monarch was himself a punster, and made very few bishops or privy counsellors, that had not, some time or other, signalized

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themselves by a clinch or a conundrum. It was, therefore, in this age, that the pun appeared with pomp and dignity. It had before been admitted into merry speeches and ludicrous compositions, but was now delivered with great gravity from the pulpit, or pronounced in the most solemn manner at the council-table."

We believe that, even in our own day, the assertion, that "he who perpetrates a pun, will pick a pocket," is not universally received as an indisputable ethical axiom; but that the offence, if apparently unpremeditated, is admitted to be venial, at least, when committed in the inconsiderate moments of unguarded mirth.

Among our ancestors, puns did not assume that incidental character in which alone they are now tolerated, but were brought about in the coolest and most deliberate manner. The King's English was tortured till its stiff old Saxon joints cracked in the process. Words were subjected to cruelties scarcely surpassed by those of the Inquisition. Like the victims of the Procrustean bed, when too long, they were cut off, when too short, they were stretched. The species of pun required by the fastidiousness of modern refinement, is a light, ethereal matter, the product of a delicate entanglement of thought. It lies like the web of dew sparkling in its position, but is lost in the attempt to remove it from the circumstances to which it is attached. Or it is like the mystical substance to result from the nice combinations of the alchemist, that must be caught at the moment of projection, or you grasp only the dross, — the gross materials from which it was to be generated. On the contrary, the pun of the Puritans seems to have been, as it were, one of the parts of speech, susceptible of syntax, and calculated to produce no degree of exhilaration unbecoming the gravity of their habits.

By removing the dust from the volume of Mather's "Magnalia," our readers will find all the peculiarities, which we have referred to or explained, abundantly illustrated. Seriousness and trifling, learning and superstition, are brought into a degree of intimacy rarely seen elsewhere. Prefaces thickly studded with quotations, usher the way to memoirs decorated with puns and anagrams. Among the biographies of venerable divines, the pious pilgrims of New England, that the Rev. Mr. Wilson, a noted anagram-maker, should by anagrams be commemorated, may seem not inappropriate. But

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what Mr. Ralph Patridge had done to merit the ludicrous introduction to posterity that is given him, does not appear. He is described as "a *hunted Patridge*, who, being distressed by the ecclesiastical *setters* of old England, having neither *beak* nor *claws* for defence, escaped by *flight* over the ocean, and *took covert* in the town of Duxbury, in the colony of Plymouth. There he remained, till he *took wing* to become a *bird of paradise.*" Then follows his epitaph in one Latin word,

"AVOLAVIT."

It has not been our purpose, to trace the origin of the religious and literary extravagances of Cotton Mather further back than the immediate sources from whence he probably derived them; nor to dwell upon these, except barely in the way of allusion. For their real origin we must go to those great events, the invention of printing, the discovery of America, the revival of letters, and the Reformation, which followed too closely upon each other not to disturb the sober sense of mankind. That a general prevalence of monstrous and uncouth notions should follow these great changes, in which former measures of proportion and accustomed standards of taste and propriety were swept away, is not singular. Under such circumstances the human mind inevitably runs into extravagances of every description. To the adventurous, a new world was opened for conquest, rich in spicy groves and mines of golden wealth, beyond the dreams of Oriental fiction. Hence the enterprising hastened to plant colonies,and build up principalities, and speculate in unfounded kingdoms. Out of the ruins of the old theology, the religiously inclined had full scope for vagaries in the formation of new creeds. In the tumult of great moral and physical revolutions, amid the occurrence of startling events beyond man's capacity to calculate or control, he would feel a natural conviction of the presence of invisible agencies. By means of printing, at the breaking up of monasteries, all the fantastic trifles with which the monks had relieved the tedium of their unnatural life were poured out upon the world under the name of literature, and, accompanying classical learning from its retreats, experienced the advantages of so respectable an introduction. The literary follies, that remained in vogue at the time of Cotton Mather, were models of good taste, compared with the laborious puerilities which had been gradually aban-

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doned. Thus a grave writer, at one period, thought it meritorious to complete his first chapter without once using the letter A; the next, without B; and so on through the alphabet, if his chapters extended so far. Verses were composed in the form of hearts, rings, altars, and true loveknots. A satire assumed the formidable shape of a battle-axe, or some other weapon of war. Elegies rose in the semblance of funereal monuments, as urns or obelisks. The love-songs of the poet fluttered to his mistress in the guise of Cupids and turtle-doves. One would write verses in the form of gloves; another in the shape of spectacles. Ben Johnson speaks of a pair of scissors and a comb in verse; and Addison, ridiculing these aberrations of taste, describes a poetical wig, each curl of which was a separate stanza. There were even such artifices of the Muse, "while yet in early Greece she sung."

In Mr. Peabody's Life of Cotton Mather, not only his talents and acquirements, but the purity of his intentions and the uprightness of his character, are on the whole more favorably estimated than has of late been common. The charges, sometimes made against him, of ambitious and selfish designs, unworthy a Christian minister, are not admitted to be true. Still, according to our apprehension, more foundation is allowed for them than really exists. It is fair, that his conduct in one case should be judged by his actions in another that is in some respects parallel. Had we known him only as leading the way to the introduction of inoculation for the small-pox, we should find him acting promptly upon convictions that had satisfied his own mind, manifesting the zeal of an ardent temperament, confident where others were distrustful, and aiming to influence public sentiment in regard to a doubtful and hazardous principle. For his earnest advocacy of this strange proceeding in relation to a dangerous disease, he now receives credit for independence, courage, and sound judgment, because his opinion has been sustained — we cannot say by philosophy, but by experience; yet his benevolent efforts were rewarded at the time by as strong imputations of credulity, of meddlesomeness, even of ambitious and unworthy motives, as have thrown obloquy upon his bold and decided course on the subject of witchcraft.

It is more than probable, that the same mental characteristics, motives and impulses, which, exerted in favor of inoculation, have won for him honor and gratitude from posterity, governed also his measures during the unhappy delusion by

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which his fame has so severely suffered. His errors cannot be ascribed to bigotry. He was, in fact, one of the most tolerant and liberal of the clergy of his day. Even his credulity seems always to have been based on authority that could not then be gainsaid, or to have been the result of a process of reasoning or investigation. He aimed to study the subject of witchcraft as a man of science and philosophy, as well as an humble believer of the Bible; and what could then be derived from learning and philosophy, but confirmation of a Scripture, which declared, "Thou shall not suffer a witch to live"? Wherein was the evidence, produced by Pilarini and Simoni, of the beneficial effects of inoculation, more conclusive than the testimony of human wisdom and divine revelation to the existence of witchcraft? In either case he acted upon his convictions with incautious sincerity and manly courage. In both instances he was encouraged to go forward by many, who shrunk from responsibility themselves, and who, when blame arose, were glad to let the weight of it rest upon his shoulders.

When Cotton Mather found the witches and their allies an overmatch for human sagacity (for so he explained the unexpected result of public prosecutions), he would naturally wish to believe, himself, and to convince others, that he had not been too precipitate in carrying out his principles. The correctness of those principles he always maintained, because the evidence of their truth still preponderated in his mind over the arguments of their opponents. His claim of having counselled caution and moderation in judicial proceedings, and his continued assertion of the propriety of such proceedings, have furnished the grounds of many accusations against him.

In summing up the character of Cotton Mather, we should say, that he was a man of superior general ability, without the advantage of any leading intellectual tendencies, and that his warm and benevolent feelings were not sufficiently guarded by reserve, or qualified by worldly shrewdness. By nature and education he was unfortunately subject to conceit and self-complacency, which he had not tact enough to conceal. This infirmity was evidently the real cause of his misfortunes during life, and its influence has followed his reputation, and obscured his merits with posterity. Too evident self-satisfaction is the last thing mankind are disposed to tolerate. It invariably provokes the assaults of ridicule and satire. All the faults and weaknesses, that a vain man exhibits, are sure to be

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mentioned and brought up against him. Known hypocrisy, and mock humility, are less obnoxious and more respected. The frank simplicity of Cotton Mather continually exposed him to attacks that affected his public standing, embittered his temper, and occasioned an old age of unhappiness and disappointment.

The high anticipations, that surrounded his entrance into life, subjected him both to observation and to jealousy. He aimed to maintain the position his ancestors had held in church and state, and claimed, too openly, similar influence and consideration. To the changes of times and circumstances he had not shrewdness enough to accommodate himself. The consequence was, that industry, learning, philanthropy, and talents enough to crown any name with distinction, could not secure him from final neglect and the pain of frustrated expectations.

We think his writings worthy of more consideration than they receive. There is often a richness of thought buried beneath his exuberance of learning and illustration, that well repays the labor of getting at it. Could his "Magnalia" be relieved from its miserable punctuation, and the too liberal use of italics and capitals, the style would be found more clear and forcible than is generally supposed, and possessed of much of the peculiar qualities, that the admirers of Jeremy Taylor would strongly relish.

ART. II. — *Report, on Education in Europe, to the Trustees of the Girard College for Orphans.* By ALEXANDER DALLAS BACHE, LL. D., President of the College. Philadelphia: Lydia R. Bailey. 1839. 8vo. pp. 666.

THE extended report contained in the volume, of which the title is prefixed to this article, is the first-fruits of the most munificent literary endowment, originating in individual liberality, which has ever occurred in this country. Indeed, the annals of scholastic foundations in Europe present few instances of equal magnitude, and assuredly not more than two or three which are greater. The name of Stephen Girard has taken a place in the same category with those of

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Sir Thomas Gresham, of Thomas Sutton, and of George Heriot.

A curious illustration of the practical operation of our political system, — its influence upon individual enterprise and feeling, — might be traced in the history of the accumulation of a fortune like that amassed by Mr. Girard, and its final appropriation to a plan of purely popular beneficence. A foreigner comes penniless to our shores. The liberal policy of the law and of public opinion receives him into the community. Barely acquainted with the language of the country, without education, without kindred or friends, without patronage, in a word, without any means external to himself, he seeks, and without difficulty finds, in an humble line of life, an opening for his industry. The lone man makes himself useful, and with his usefulness come connexions in business. The field of his labor becomes enlarged and more elevated. The genius for traffic, with which some men are endowed, enables him at every advance to find a firmer footing, and to plant himself more securely. For a time, one of the crew of some of the small craft that ply on a river, he gradually raises himself to some authority on board of a coasting vessel. He relinquishes the vocation of a mariner, and, with his small earnings and savings, stocks a small shop. In a few years he is in a state of transition to the condition of a merchant. Traffic, that scarce ventured beyond the hail of the voice, or the range of a good spyglass, has learned a bolder venture, and begins to vex the seas of distant climes. The ventures prove successful, or, to speak more accurately, there is in them wisdom and foresight, the compound of boldness and prudence, which makes a merchant's might. The man, whose trading began in small channels, has gained a standing in the centre of a commercial metropolis. A new department for his skill and enterprise is found, and the successful merchant becomes also the thrifty and prosperous banker; and thus his wealth, never lying idle, is magnified in a ratio almost exceeding calculation.

Such is a hasty sketch of the formation of Stephen Girard's estate, — the earnings of individual effort, with poverty for a starting-point. He came to this country from France, it is said, as a cabin boy. He was a fresh-water sailor on the river Delaware, and subsequently, as he mentions in his will, he traded to New Orleans, in the first instance, as "first

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officer" of the vessel, and afterwards, as "master and part-owner." The designation he gives himself in his will, is, "mariner and merchant." He went into commercial business, in a small way, as a grocer. A few years more made him a shipping merchant, and he was for a considerable time the largest ship-owner in the port of Philadelphia. When he became a capitalist, he sought the growing gains of a shrewd and cautious banker, and soon was strong enough to purchase, for his own use of private banking, the building which had been erected and was used as the banking-house of the nation during the continuance of the charter of the first bank of the United States. The accumulation of money was with Girard the one great aim of life, pursued with an unremitting and unwearying assiduity. He was a man, who, having been separated in early life from his kindred, suffered the ties of consanguinity to hang but loosely on him. His habits of living were simple, or rather austere and parsimonious. His sole recreation, and that was recreation mingled with thrift, was rural occupation on his farm in the immediate neighbourhood of Philadelphia, to which for many years he daily retired, after the business of his banking-house closed. He was a man of close counsels. The work of his life may literally be said to have been achieved by himself alone. No sorcerer ever environed himself with a magic circle more impenetrable, a line to be crossed only at the risk of his displeasure. His temperament was unsocial. There was a wide, and, we may add, a dreary space, between him and his kindred, his connexions, his assistants in business, his fellow-laborers, not companions, in the counting-room and the banking-house, and his fellow-citizens generally. During life, his name was not associated with plans of beneficence. Charity was timid in approaching to solicit a bounty. He was a solitary-hearted being, and his fellow-creatures knew not the avenues to his feelings. When the credit of the national government was depressed during the late war with Great Britain, Girard was one of the capitalists who replenished the treasury of the country from their private coffers; and he fostered important internal improvements in his own State by advances, when the work was in danger of standing still, and other men were afraid or unable to give assistance. But, in these cases, the impulse was the foresight of a safe deposit and an increased return, the instinct of investment.

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In short, Stephen Girard was such a man, as, had his lot been cast, like that of the London banker, Thomas Sutton, the founder of the Charter House, in the same age and in the same community with Ben Jonson, would have furnished a better mark for the dramatist's satire.

If the acquisition of so large an estate by such a man as Girard is any illustration of the political system under which he lived, and which, placing no impediments in his way, gave abundant security to his possession, still more is its ultimate appropriation an evidence of the influence of popular spirit. The laborious earnings of a long, and, in a certain way, self-denying life, were destined, not to the aggrandizement of a few, some short-lived aristocracy of wealth, but to be diffused amidst the people, for the promotion of the people's best interests. The idea is not to be entertained for a moment, that there can be any adequate substitute when there is a seclusion from the natural social affections; because undoubtedly the happiness of mankind is best advanced by the cultivation of kindly emotions, the sympathies of blood and other impulses of nature, which are unwisely sacrificed to any scheme of beneficence, no matter how plausible. Yet there is something redeeming for a career of close-handed money-making, of avarice, denying alike indulgence to self and liberality to others, when the fact comes to light, that all this course of living has had a purpose beyond what the world could see,—the blind and heart-chilling lust that gloats over the swelling coffer. It is some justification of a life like Girard's, that all his labors had a destination into which no selfish principle entered. The city of his adoption, where his money had been earned, was to be his heir, and back into her lap the accumulated wealth of years was to be poured. With the exception of comparatively a few legacies, the bulk of his estate, amounting to some six millions of dollars, was bequeathed to the city of Philadelphia, as a trustee to fulfil certain designs, which he supposed best calculated to promote her permanent interests. The final appropriation of Mr. Girard's property was, during his life, a mystery fruitful of conjectures and speculations; and when death broke the seal of it, there was amazement in finding, that he had been maturing, in the solitary counsels of his own mind, a great scheme of education. With no pretensions to any acquirements of science or literature, and successful in a worldly way beyond competition without

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them, some secret sympathy with the helplessness of ignorance had touched him. Perhaps, when his thoughts were reposing in security upon his millions, some recollection of hours of desolation and friendlessness and anguish in his early days rose among them, and from the recollection sprang the conception, which became, no doubt, for many years, the master idea which controlled him.

"I have been for a long time," (such is the language of his will,) "impressed with the importance of educating the poor, and of placing them, by the early cultivation of their minds, and the developement of their moral principles, above the many temptations, to which through poverty and ignorance they are exposed; and I am particularly desirous to provide, for such a number of poor, male, white, orphan children, as can be trained in one institution, a better education, as well as a more comfortable maintenance, than they usually receive from the application of the public funds."

It mitigates the harshness of Mr. Girard's character, to reflect that he was, as it were, administering his estate so that the sphere of his bounty might be enlarged in proportion to its increase. The dark shades of his parsimony assume a brighter hue, when it is regarded as the stern integrity of a trustee, the watchfulness of a guardian over a fund, which he is husbanding for the good of those whose interests are committed to him.

The short extract from Mr. Girard's will, which we have given above, states the general design of his endowment, to the accomplishment of which, he bequeathed two millions of dollars, with an additional provision, that if the number of orphans applying for admission shall make that sum inadequate to meet their wants, a large residuary fund shall also be appropriated. It may well be questioned whether Mr. Girard displayed his wonted sagacity or shrewdness, when he delegated a trust of this kind to a city corporation, exposed to the frequent fluctuations of party politics, and thereby involving the institution, to which he was solicitous to give permanence and stability, in the jeopardy of changes brought about by the operation of causes entirely extrinsic. The heated atmosphere of party politics has, in this country, become very penetrating, and the time may come when it will be difficult to exclude it from that region in which a different temperature should be preserved.

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When George Heriot, the jeweller of King James the First, devised his estate for the founding of a "hospital," for the education of "the poor fatherless boyes" of Edinburgh, he had the wisdom to commit to men, whom, modestly, he deemed more competent than himself, the digestion of a plan; and accordingly one of his executors, the Rev. Dr. Balcanquall, was intrusted with the responsible duty of drawing up the statutes for the organization and government of the institution, and even of deciding upon the plan of the building. Mr. Girard's course was a different, and, we apprehend, a less sagacious one. His will presents a remarkable elaboration of directions respecting the edifice for the habitation and use of the orphans, which, it might readily have been anticipated, would be attended with practical difficulties and embarrassment. An architectural passion seems to have been predominant in the testator's mind, and, yielding to it, he has prescribed dimensions, materials, internal arrangements, a *marble* roof, the staircases, the measure of the steps, so many inches "in the rise," and so many "in the tread," and a hundred such details, the combination of which, in execution, we can well conceive to have been in no small degree perplexing, and perhaps in some particulars impracticable. It is curious, too, to observe how his notions of architectural beauty and propriety seemed to centre round his familiar and favorite places of resort, and his disposition to prescribe them as models of imitation;—

"The windows of the second and third stories, I recommend to be made in the style of those in the first and second stories *of my present dwellinghouse, North Water street,* on the eastern front thereof; and outside each window I recommend, that a substantial and neat iron balcony be placed, &c. &c., as is the case in the lower story *of my house at my place in Passyank township.*"

Again;

"At each place of entrance there shall be two gates, one opening inward, and the other outward; those opening inward to be of iron, and *in the style of the gates north and south of my banking-house,*" &c. &c.

We have referred to these matters, because to them, we believe, is ascribed the unlooked-for delay in organizing the institution. A professional interpretation of the terms of the will, does not sanction an opening of the College for the re-

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ception of the orphans until the buildings are completed. In 1833, the corner-stone of the main building, a structure of gigantic dimensions and of rich Corinthian style, was laid in the immediate neighbourhood of the city of Philadelphia ; and, though the work has been prosecuted with all the rapidity compatible with its durability and the supply of marble from various quarries of the land, it is understood that the completion cannot be looked for in less than four years more.

The preparatory measure of electing a President, and delegating him to visit Europe for the purpose of making a thorough examination of the institutions of education in the principal countries, has produced the valuable work now before us. Considering the vital importance of the subject to the people, President Bache's mission may be regarded as possessing an interest not secondary to any mission of diplomacy. The nature of the duties confided to him will appear more clearly from the general instructions contained in the letter addressed to him, by the President of the Board of Trustees of the Girard College, Mr. Nicholas Biddle.

"The Board of Trustees are charged by the city of Philadelphia to prepare a system of instruction for the Girard College for Orphans. For this purpose, they are anxious to have the most accurate information of the best means used for the same purpose elsewhere, and you have been selected to obtain it. Your object, then, is to visit all establishments in Europe similar to the Girard College ; and, as these are found principally, if not exclusively, in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Prussia, and the rest of the states of Germany, these countries will form the natural limits of your tour. Accordingly, all institutions in each of those countries resembling the Girard College, or any others which promise to afford useful information in organizing it, you will see and examine. Your own reflection will readily suggest the points of information desired ; and I will, therefore, merely enumerate a few, which may serve as a basis for your own extensive investigation. Of every establishment visited by you, we should wish to know, —

1. Its history, general administration, and the nature and extent of its funds.

2. Its interior organization and government ; the names, titles, and duties of all the persons employed in it.

3. Who are admitted to it, and the forms and terms of admission ; and, where it is professedly for the education of orphans, who are considered as orphans.

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4. The number and classification of the scholars, and their term of residence.

5. Their course of studies, in the minutest detail, from the commencement to the end of their residence in the institution, with the text-books and other works used.

6. As a part of that course, specially important to the Girard College, we should desire to know the regulations or the practice by which, among a large body of scholars, a portion, after continuing for some time in the institution, are permitted to begin their active career in life, — while others, with greater aptitude or greater willingness to learn, are carried up to the higher branches of education. The nature and the mode of that discrimination would be highly interesting, — as would also be, —

7. The precise extent to which moral and religious instruction is proposed to be given, and is actually given, and also by whom and in what form that instruction is conveyed.

8. The mechanical arts taught, — the mode of teaching them, — the models, tools, and implements of all kinds employed, — and the manner in which the practice of these arts is mingled with the routine of studies.

9. The system of rewards and punishments in regard to studies or personal conduct.

10. The general police and discipline of the school.

11. The amusements, — gymnastic exercises, — games of all kinds, uniting instruction with agreeable relaxation, — together with the number and extent of the vacations, pecuniary allowance, or personal indulgences, to the scholars.

12. The diet and clothing of the scholars.

13. The regulations in regard to health, hours of study and of rest, arrangement as to sleeping and eating, and the whole routine of each day's employment.

14. The expenses of the school, including salaries and all incidents, with the average annual expense of each scholar.

15. The structure of the buildings, the arrangement of dormitories, refectories, playgrounds, and workshops, illustrated by drawings, where they can be procured.

16. As a proper foundation for similar statistical inquiries in this country, you will collect all the information you can in respect to the proportion of orphans to the rest of the community." — pp. iv – vi.

This was a large field to operate in; a trust, the faithful execution of which required time, toil, and patience, a powerful and practised observation, and a well disciplined judgment. It was well concluded by Professor Bache, that the limited purpose of the Girard College, — an eleemosynary

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institution for the education and care of orphans, — did not preclude the necessity of making an examination of the general establishments of education as well as those more closely resembling it. The chief general value of the Report is founded on the information it furnishes respecting European education, and the actual processes in a great variety of institutions. At the same time, it is due to the author to bear in mind, that his researches, and the report of them, were meant to have a bearing upon one specific object.

The compilation of a report from materials so abundant as those collected by Professor Bache, in a tour extended through two years of unintermitted application, must needs, from that very abundance, have been a process of considerable difficulty. A *report* will often lose much of its value, and, indeed, its very character as a report, when the opinions of the reporter are suffered to supersede the statements of facts on which those opinions are grounded. On the other hand a report may dwindle into a lifeless detail, a spiritless enumeration of particulars, — unless the mind of the reporter shall have a kind of mastery of the whole ground, guiding and controlling the whole subject by inductions and generalizations, instead of limiting itself to a barren process of mere observation. The aim of a report must be, to keep in their true proportions the writer's general conclusions and the presentation of facts to furnish a test of their accuracy. We find, that Professor Bache's tour included visits to nearly three hundred schools and institutions of education in Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Austria, Prussia, and the other states of Germany, — constituting the most elaborate mission of the kind ever undertaken. How much of unprofitable and thankless toil must of necessity have been involved in such an examination it is easy to conjecture, though Mr. Bache has, with good feeling and judgment, refrained from the ungrateful task of recording the numerous failures and mistakes in the work of education, which came under his observation, unless a reference to them was necessary to illustrate some principle, either positively or negatively. His method of presenting the results of his labors appears to us to be the most judicious that could have been adopted, both in reference to an immediate application to the wants of the Girard College, and for its general bearing on the cause of education. A more imposing and osten-

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tatious plan might have been devised, which would have given greater prominence to the writer's opinions and theories of education, than the descriptive form admits.

"As best calculated to present the impressions of the actual results of education, I have adopted the descriptive form for my Report, and have purposely avoided summing up the conclusions, or presenting a review of them, separately from the facts, that the force of the opinions may not be weakened by appearing out of this connexion. It is true, that the remarks must be considered as general inductions from numerous facts, and not inferences from single instances; but these instances serve as their best illustration, if not sufficient, taken singly, to prove that they are just. These remarks suggested themselves at first as queries to be answered by further observation." — pp. 9, 10.

This seems to us to be the true philosophical method of dealing with a subject, very modestly stated. The remark suggesting itself at first as a query, is the first act of the mind in its process of induction; the *prudens interrogatio*, which has wisely been pronounced the *dimidium scientiæ*; the questioning, which, so long as it is kept from passing too hastily from interrogation, and thus being converted into dogma, is indeed an anticipation of truth. We are disposed to advert to this matter, because the work before us will, in all probability, have the weight of authority on questions connected with education; and it is essential in ascertaining its title to authority, to observe the spirit in which the author's investigations were conducted. He brought to the execution of his responsible trust an experience in practical education, acquired as a Professor in the University of Pennsylvania; but more than this, he brought what was far more valuable than experience, a perfect fairness of mind on the subject he was to deal with. It is impossible to peruse the volume without being struck with the candor, which is its pervading characteristic; the entire freedom from bias, either of prepossession or of prejudice; the openness of mind to conviction, the want of which too often makes the business of observation itself absolutely futile. Men are much too apt to set out in their investigations with preconceived notions, — with their minds made up, or with such a leaning as amounts to the same thing; and the consequence inevitably is, that truth must somehow or other (to borrow a phrase of Shak-

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speare's) be "buckled within the belt of their rule"; and hence it happens, that she is so often seen sorely girded in the cincture of some self-sufficient hypothesis.

We do not propose to follow Professor Bache systematically through the Report, or to scrutinize his opinions on various principles of education, scattered through it as the results of his investigations and of subsequent reflection. Such an attempt would not only exceed our bounds, but would be an injurious substitute for the accurate statement of his views in connexion with an abundant collection of facts. Our intention is, simply, to give a cursory account of the volume (which, from its mode of publication, may not be very generally circulated), its contents, and the general tone of the author, with a quotation of some passages which have chanced to arrest our attention, rather than any disquisition of our own upon the much discussed subject of education.

The general arrangement is thus stated;

"This Report will be divided into two parts, the first relating to the means provided for the education of orphans, the second to the systems of general education. Corresponding to these divisions, there are two groups of institutions which present, in general, different objects for consideration; in the first, the government, discipline, and domestic economy, as well as the instruction, are to be examined; while in the second, the instruction is the chief point of interest. Every individual institution in the first group should furnish moral, intellectual, and physical education; many in the second are necessarily more limited in their design." — p. 10.

The Report opens with an interesting account of the "Hospital" for orphans, founded in Edinburgh by the well-known George Heriot, rather more than two centuries ago. In his description of the life of the "Heriot's boys," we soon find an opportunity of becoming acquainted with Professor Bache's opinions and feelings on the subject of discipline. The excellent religious instruction and training are represented as operating powerfully on the general deportment of the youthful inmates of the establishment, and also on their subsequent career in active life. An erroneous regulation respecting punishment suggests some remarks on the general subject of discipline, which appear to us to be conceived in the true spirit.

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"The regulations require, that 'the more degrading kinds of corporal punishment shall be as seldom as possible resorted to,' and yet counteract the good effect of this provision by directing, that 'they shall not be inflicted in the private classes, but only in what is called "the public school," in presence of the house-governor,' thus rendering the degradation most certain by the publicity of the punishment. It is true, these chastisements are rarely inflicted, and the regulations provide, that 'they shall not be resorted to for mere literary negligence, if unaccompanied by moral blame.' The house-governor has great latitude in regard to the character of the punishments, and I am sure exercises a sound discretion in reference to them.

"There can be no doubt, that it is more dangerous to blunt the sensibilities of a youth to moral reproof, than to harden him by corporal chastisement. Hence such chastisements may be preferable, in certain cases where reproof has failed, to a continuance of the attempt to correct by admonition. This supposes it to be administered in private, without temper, and as a last resort. Some dispositions are better acted upon by the deprivation of indulgences by confinement, and similar penalties of this class, where remonstrances have failed; while others require something more immediate in its action. In many schools in England, where the rod was once freely used, it has been almost, and in others entirely, laid aside. In schools like these, where the youth is entirely dependent upon the institution, I am fully persuaded, that, with proper treatment, it need be resorted to very seldom, if at all. Few dispositions are not open to kindness, especially under these circumstances, and no master has the qualities appropriate to such an institution, who prefers the repulsive system to the encouraging. I refer to the example of the English schools, because they have held out longest against the modern improvements in discipline, and their relinquishment of such means is a stronger argument than could be derived from the more gentle discipline of the continent. The spirit of kindness between master and pupil, which exists in many of the continental schools, the confidence that renders him, as it were, the head of a family circle, are delightful to witness, and insure, better than stripes, the obedience of his pupils. I believe that this species of discipline, which *leads* the pupil instead of *driving* him, may be considered as particularly congenial to the American character. The governors of Heriot's say, that 'it is earnestly recommended, that as far as possible, prevention of faults be employed; and that gentle treatment be practised with the children.' Thus, as far as their recom-

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mendation goes, they are on the side where I should prefer to range myself." — pp. 27, 28.

The same sound judgment and kindly feeling are observable, wherever matters of discipline are referred to in the Report. The subject is an important and a difficult one. Its interest and its perplexities will endure, so long as pupils have the traits of youth, its follies and fickleness, its irregularity and immaturity, and teachers fall short of perfect discretion and patience, equalling the meekness of the saints. Discipline is a thing not to be described. It is not severity, with which it is often confounded ; nor is it weak indulgence, which not unfrequently is made the substitute. A change has taken place in public opinion, since the times when the one thing needful was beating. There is a growing tendency, in which we rejoice, to dispense to the utmost possible degree with corporal chastisement. It is a reformation, of which the epoch may be computed from the day of that dinner-party at which Cecil entertained the Counsellors of Queen Elizabeth, and with them that gentle-spirited old scholar, Roger Ascham, the court and the attendants of the monarch having retired to Windsor during the prevalence of the plague in London, in the year 1563. The table-talk took its impulse from the mention of the seemingly unimportant circumstance of some boys having run away from Eton school, for fear of the unmerciful flagellations. The severities practised at the great schools in England were discussed, being advocated by some of the guests, who were men of a severe nature, and reprobated by others of a milder disposition, Ascham himself favoring the birch-breakers. There was one of the company, Sir Richard Sackville, the father of Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, the author of the finest poem in the English language between Chaucer and Spenser, who spake not a word ; but soon afterwards, calling Ascham aside, told him his own sad experience of his school-day sufferings, and begged him to commit to writing his views of the good bringing up of children. To this suggestion, prompted by the chance conversation of a company of statesmen and scholars, in a moment of relaxation from the cares of an anxious reign, we are indebted for that excellent and pleasant book, "The Scholemaster, by Roger Ascham, Preceptor to Queen Elizabeth." We have turned to it, in connexion with the subject of discipline, chiefly for the sake of one

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genial passage, in which he describes, very pathetically, the injury that may be done to one whom he calls the "sad-natured and hard-witted child." — "A child that is still, silent, constant, and somewhat hard of wit, when he cometh to the school, is smally regarded, little looked unto; he lacketh teaching, he lacketh encouragement, he lacketh all things; only he never lacketh beating, nor any word that may move him to hate learning, nor any deed, that may drive him from learning to any other kind of living." Another old worthy, of somewhat later date, that wise and witty divine, Thomas Fuller, has entered his appeal too against the unsparing and indiscriminate use of the rod, in his portraiture of "the good schoolmaster." "There are scholars, who are ingenious and industrious. To such a frown may be a whipping, and a whipping a death; yea, where their master whips them once, shame whips them all the week after. — There are scholars that are ingenious and idle. These think, with the hare in the fable, that running with snails (so they count the rest of their school-fellows) they shall come soon enough to the post, though sleeping a good while before their starting. Oh! a good rod would finely take them napping. — There are those that are dull and diligent. Their dulness is to be borne with, if they be diligent. That schoolmaster deserves to be beaten himself, who beats Nature in a boy for a fault. And I question whether all the whipping in the world can make their parts, which are naturally sluggish, rise one minute before the hour Nature hath appointed. — There are those that are invincibly dull and negligent also. Correction may reform the latter, not amend the former; all the whetting in the world can never set a razor's edge on that which hath no steel in it. Such boys the good schoolmaster consigneth over to other professions. Shipwrights and boatmakers will choose those crooked pieces of timber, which other carpenters refuse."

An excess of corporal chastisement was an abuse in the olden time, as is evident from the protestations of both Ascham and Fuller, even if there were no other proof of it. The children of later times enjoy a better heritage. But the comparative disuse of the rod and other implements of bodily infliction, does not insure an exemption from other violations of true discipline. When one error goes out or is driven out, the door is very often left open for another to

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walk in. It was a deep reproach against the system of the late Joseph Lancaster, that, while it professed an extraordinary clemency in abrogating the discipline of corporal punishment, it resorted to a species of more refined cruelty, substituting insults and ridicule, and making scorn and mockery principles of education. It must never be forgotten, that the heart of childhood is as tender as its body, and that blows may be struck, which will give a wound deeper and harder to heal than those of the birch or the ferule. There may be wanton cruelty in each of these methods, alike injudicious and injurious. But opposite to all this is the error of loose and feeble-handed indulgence. There is, we apprehend, often more wisdom in the style of driving horses than of governing children. It is the sign of a skilful driver not to use the whip frequently, not to hold a slack rein at one minute, and a tight rein at another; the animal is fretted and fatigued by an unsteady hand as well as by an unsparing lash. It is a well-established fact, that the two kinds of teachers who are most obnoxious to their pupils, are those who punish with severity, and those who indulge with imbecility; the latter, strange as it may seem, are probably the least liked of the two. Discipline is preventive rather than corrective; its cardinal properties are foresight, firmness, gentleness, and justice. The best definition of it we remember to have met with, is in one of those aphoristic sentences, sometimes so happily framed by the late Mr. Coleridge. "Discipline," we quote the words from memory, "is the *maximum* of watchfulness, with the *minimum* of punishment." Extreme severity is not an attribute of true discipline. It is much easier to be capricious and fitful, passionate and tyrannical, than to govern with the gentleness and dignity of decision; and it is a vulgar and shallow error to suppose, that a sound disciplinarian is arrayed with terrors. The discipline, over which, in that familiar passage in the "Task," Cowper pronounced his fine lament, was a personification of no such power;

> "His eye was meek and gentle, and a smile
> Played on his lips, and in his speech was heard
> Paternal sweetness, dignity, and love.
> The occupation dearest to his heart
> Was to encourage goodness. He would stroke
> The head of modest and ingenuous worth
> That blushed at its own praise, and press the youth
> Close to his side that pleased him."

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We have been led on to say more on this subject than we at first intended, from finding, in various places in the Report, opinions on the mode of governing youth, which have our most hearty concurrence, and to which we would invite especial attention.

The Liverpool Blue-Coat School is indicated by the author as affording one of the best examples he met with, to illustrate the results of the system of mutual instruction introduced by Dr. Bell, generally styled "the Madras system."

"I found all the intelligent persons connected with this institution so thoroughly convinced of the efficacy of the monitorial system, that I paused in drawing conclusions in regard to it, until I had compared this school with others upon the same or a similar system; it is, however, one of the best examples which I saw of the Bell or Madras system, or, rather, of a modified form of it. The gentlemen above referred to are convinced, that the pupil-teachers are not only competent to give instruction, but that they frequently communicate it in a more intelligible form than teachers who are further removed by age and knowledge from the boys; that the emulation among the pupil-teachers of different classes induces their pupils to exert themselves more than if under the charge of the master, and that the pupil-teachers are sufficiently exact and impartial in administering the rules of discipline and instruction. I state these opinions broadly, not wishing to conceal that the views of others, who have experience in the matter, are adverse to my own. I observed as closely as my opportunities would permit, here and elsewhere, and came to the conclusion that, in communicating knowledge not merely mechanical, the pupil-teachers are generally at fault, that they fail to keep up the attention of the pupils, and to preserve order among them, except in presence of the master, and that they do not always deal impartially in administering the rules. It is true, that if a class of ninety is to be confided to one master, monitors may be usefully employed to prepare the pupils for him. A similar plan is pursued at the best school on the Bell system which I have seen, the Madras College at St. Andrew's, Scotland. Further than this, I do not believe that monitors can be usefully employed, and, where the means of procuring a sufficient number of good teachers are not wanting, I would not at all recommend the use of the monitorial system in imparting instruction." — pp. 51, 52.

"The very useful exercise in the Madras system, in which

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the pupils question each other, is well carried out in this school; every boy thus must ask as well as answer questions. It, however, offers considerable practical difficulty. Some hold back from diffidence, others from fear of showing ignorance by their questions, and others are incompetent to it from ignorance of the subjects." — p. 53.

We are not surprised to find, that Professor Bache's observations led him to a conclusion adverse to the artificial systems of gymnastics, which were so much in fashion throughout this country a few years since. They furnished a poor substitute for the boys' own sports and athletic games, which after all are the true exercises, — Nature's own gymnastics. The hearty zest with which the boys of the English schools enter into their games, traditionary through many generations, gives the best illustration of this principle.

The chapter on Eleemosynary Institutions of Education contains a full and interesting account of that antiquated though admirable establishment, the famous Blue-Coat School of London, the "Christ's Hospital." It is an enduring monument to the memory of its founder, "that godly and royal child, King Edward the Sixth, the boy-patron of boys, the serious and holy child, who walked with Cranmer and Ridley," as he has been eulogized by one who enjoyed the charity, or, as he has been styled in loftier strain, "King, child, and seraph." Various orphan schools, and other institutions for the education of destitute children, on the continent, are also described. A censure is passed upon a practice observed in one of these, in Holland, of having one of the pupils to read aloud from the Bible during meals. We have some recollection of having heard of such a usage in some institution in this country, and therefore advert to it. The custom is exceptionable on every principle, both of morals and physiology. If the reading is heeded by the eaters, it is unhealthful; and, if not, there is irreverence.

The second and remaining part of the Report is devoted to "*Education* in General," the materials being here arranged with reference to the four departments of Infant, Elementary or Primary, Secondary, and Superior Instruction. The plan of this portion of the work is stated as follows.

"After brief notices of certain infant schools, elementary instruction is considered under two heads; the first, embracing the schools for general purposes, the second, those intended

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for special training, as for the education of a rural or industrial population, and of teachers for the elementary schools. Under the former head will be given a notice of the provisions for elementary instruction in Great Britain; a notice of the primary public instruction in France; a more particular description of the primary system of Holland, and of some schools which illustrate its application; a history and general sketch of the Prussian system, with detailed descriptions and notices of several prominent schools; a notice of the system of primary instruction in Saxony, and of some of the schools, and an account of the method applied in the schools of Bayreuth, in Bavaria. The second division of primary instruction will comprehend descriptions of certain rural schools of Switzerland and Great Britain, an industrial primary school of France, and of some of the schools for primary teachers in Prussia, France, Holland, and Switzerland.

"Passing to the head of secondary instruction, the Report will include descriptions and notices of schools in Great Britain, France, Prussia, and Saxony; each chapter being devoted to a separate country, and preceded by general introductory remarks.

"Under the division of Superior Instruction will be given descriptions of some special schools for the arts, manufactures, and commerce of France, Prussia, and Austria, and the higher agricultural school of Wirtemburg, besides brief notices of a few other similar institutions." — pp. 155, 156.

It is not in our power to enter into any detailed examination of the subjects thus introduced. Nor is it necessary for us to attempt it, our purpose being to express a general sense of the value of the work. Its contents must be carefully examined by those who are concerned in the great work of education. To them we desire to commend Professor Bache's Report, for the sake of the information and the opinions it contains respecting what is truly and comprehensively to be considered as *Education*, — not the mere conveying of information, more properly called tuition, nor intellectual training, but the process of forming the character of the whole man, physical, intellectual, and moral.

We cannot, however, turn from the volume, without adverting, in a somewhat desultory way, to a few matters we are desirous of noticing. The chapter upon Infant-School Systems manifests, what we are glad to find, a strong sense, on the part of the author, of the one great danger, the temptation to the overtasking of the feeble powers of infancy.

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Too much cannot be said on that head ; and, whatever may be the advantages of the system, it demands perpetual vigilance to prevent it from becoming absurd, and, worse than absurd, cruel and pernicious. Oberlin's benevolent conception may, by an ill-judged metamorphosis, be perverted into an engine of torture. We must confess, that we continue to have a little more confidence in Nature than in Mr. Wilderspin, with all his devices for infant training.

"The necessity for the existence of such schools must vary much in different countries, and hence their not being adopted in all is no argument against the general principle of infant education. The want of such schools is most felt in a dense and manufacturing population ; least, in a scattered and agricultural one. Independently of essentially different degrees of usefulness, under different circumstances, various prejudices have concurred to prevent the introduction of these schools into some countries. Certain governments, as those of Germany in general, have not lent their influence to them ; and the clergy have, in some parts of Europe, been as warmly opposed to them as in others they have been their friends. The deformed models which have been transplanted from England to other countries, have tended in many cases to foster these prejudices. In some of these the intellectual developement of the pupils has been attempted to be carried on to their manifest injury, physically and mentally. In others, a mere mechanical and lifeless routine has been followed. The infant schools which I saw at Paris, called 'écoles d'asile,' seem to me to educate upon wrong principles, having adopted the mechanical arrangements of the English infant schools, without having seized their spirit. I believe, that depriving them of the female superintendence which they formerly enjoyed, to make them a part of the government system, will react further very injuriously upon them." — p. 158.

The description of a juvenile training school, at Glasgow, contains the following passage, on a subject of considerable public interest.

"The play-ground or 'uncovered school-room,' is considered the place in which moral training is to be accomplished, where the principles taught in the school may be carried into practice, so as to become habits. Accordingly, the play-ground is not merely fitted up with the means of exercise, but is planted, in part, with flowers and fruit, accessible to all, but which are to be enjoyed under the injunction, 'Smell, see, but touch not.' It has been, and is, in part, to this day, the reproach

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of England and the United States, that public property is always injured; that flowers cannot bloom, nor fruit ripen, unless when enclosed; and in France, which is considered as offering an exception to this barbarous practice, I fear that the result is produced rather by the certainty of detection and punishment, than by the influence of a higher motive. Education is the true source of relief from this reproach; if the child be trained to respect what belongs to the public, the man will never injure it. Such views have been decried as visionary, and the idea that a child could be so trained has been scouted. But facts prove, that the visionary persons were only a little in advance of the times, and their training system has succeeded, and its principles will finally be so generally adopted, that to doubt them will be as remarkable as the idea itself originally appeared. In this particular school, upwards of one hundred and eighty scholars, from the manufacturing classes of Glasgow, have been in the habit of using the playground for more than an hour and a quarter every day for two years and a half, without damage to the flowers or fruits which it contains. Great attention is paid to neatness in the playground, that the habits inculcated in the school may be carried out here. It affords, also, opportunities of exemplifying lessons on cruelty to animals, on truth, justice, kindness, and other virtues. The means of healthy exercise are given by the more simple kinds of gymnastics, one of the most popular and excellent of which is the circular swing. Wooden prisms are furnished for building, and the more ordinary games of ball, &c., are also practised. There is an opportunity in the playground for a full display of character, which, when observed, and rightly managed, leads to the same system employed by a judicious parent at home, with the advantage of better opportunities of judging of the points of character which require developing or repressing, from the influence of numbers in making these points more prominent." — pp. 187, 188.

A full account is given of the system of education in Prussia, which has attracted so much attention from its highly advanced condition. A very general misapprehension, which prevails respecting the system, is corrected by Professor Bache in a way that is conclusive. The notion has obtained currency, that the Prussian system is of comparatively recent date, or that it has been, within twenty years, moulded into its present form. This notion is traced to a hasty and erroneous assumption by Cousin, in his celebrated Report on Public Instruction in Prussia. The more careful examination of the whole subject by our countryman, conducted more by direct

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personal observation, has led to the correction of the mistake, and shown that the system is the result of a long experience, modified and enlarged from time to time, according to the actual results, and the well-ascertained requisitions of the nation.

A chapter is devoted to the seminaries for the education of teachers, generally called "Normal Schools." As it is a subject, which must demand attention with the increase of common schools in this country, we add, in closing this cursory notice of Professor Bache's Report, a portion of his introductory observations on these establishments.

"Originating in Germany, they have been gradually improved there, and brought into their present condition, and have spread into Holland, France, Switzerland, and, more recently, into England, being modified only so far as to adapt them to the circumstances of society and education in these several countries.

"The most imperfect arrangement for providing teachers is that which requires an examination into merely the knowledge of the candidates in the branches required to be taught. This is specially imperfect in the case of elementary instruction, where the knowledge required is small in amount, and where the art of teaching finds its most difficult exercise. The erroneous notion, that an individual can teach whatever he knows, is now generally abandoned, and in those countries which still adhere to the old method, of depending solely upon examinations for securing competent teachers, examination is made not only of the acquirements of a candidate, but of his ability to give instruction. I have called this the most imperfect method, because the mere employment of a teacher, without examination or personal knowledge of his powers, which still occurs in countries where education is neglected, does not deserve to be mentioned in a discussion of the more enlightened national systems.

"The most obvious method of acquiring practice in the art of teaching is by serving in the lower departments of a school, under the eye and direction of an experienced teacher. Accompanied by private study, founded on previous knowledge, and by private lessons, this method may form excellent teachers of those who have particular aptitude for the profession. Considered in the general, however, it must be admitted to have a tendency to produce a routine system in teaching. The pupil-teacher imitates the methods of those with whom he is associated, and which are placed before him as models,

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without examining their principles, or discriminating between their merits and defects. He places great stress upon peculiar modes of instruction in particular branches, and when they do not succeed, attributes the fault neither to the methods nor to himself, but to the pupil. The habits of observation and reflection, which enable him to profit by experience, are not developed by this method, and thus, though he may consider experience as a merit, it may produce none of its appropriate results in his case. Accordingly, wherever this mode of preparing teachers has been adopted as a system, as in Holland, or has been incidental to the method of examinations, as in Saxony, it has not stood the test of application in the schools where the modern improvements in teaching have been introduced, much less of a comparison with the method of instruction in special seminaries.

"The most efficacious means of securing qualified teachers are to be found in the seminaries, where a number of young men intending to become teachers are collected, receive a common instruction in the subjects required for the grade of schools in which they propose to teach, or revise and extend this knowledge previously acquired, have lessons in the science and art of teaching, and practice the art under intelligent supervision. At first, these seminaries produced good scholars, who were, however, deficient as teachers. Then, to remedy this defect, lectures and lessons on the science and art of teaching were multiplied, forming good theoretical teachers, but who were still wanting in practice, which had to be acquired after entering their profession, and, therefore, at the expense of the first pupils placed under their charge. This difficulty is entirely obviated by schools attached to the seminaries, in which the theoretical lessons may be put in practice, and where the future teachers may observe the methods of others, try their own skill in the art under inspection, and, finally, take part in the regular instruction.

"The profession of the teacher is raised into respectability by the considerable acquirements exacted of him, and his salary is placed upon a footing appropriate to the outlay of time and means which has been made in reaching the profession. It is a mistake to suppose, that the low salaries given in some countries, as in Prussia, for example, indicate that a low estimate is placed upon the station of the teacher; the very reverse is the fact in the particular country mentioned, and the salary will be found adapted to the scale of expenditure of the country, and to the general style and cost of living.

"When education is to be rapidly advanced, seminaries for teachers afford the means of securing this result. An eminent

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teacher is selected as director of the seminary, and by the aid of competent assistants, and while benefiting the community by the instruction given in the schools attached to the seminary, trains, yearly, from thirty to forty youths in the enlightened practice of his methods; these in their turn become teachers of schools, which they are fit at once to conduct, without the failures and mistakes usual with novices; for, though beginners in name, they have acquired, in the course of the two or three years spent at the seminary, an experience equivalent to many years of unguided effort. This result has been fully realized in the success of the attempts to spread the methods of Pestalozzi and others through Prussia. The plan has been adopted, and is yielding its appropriate fruits, in Holland, Switzerland, France, and Saxony, while in Austria, where the method of preparing teachers by their attendance on the primary schools is still adhered to, the schools are stationary, and behind those of Northern and Middle Germany.

"These seminaries produce a strong *esprit de corps* among teachers, which tends powerfully to interest them in their profession, to attach them to it, to elevate it in their eyes, and to stimulate them to improve constantly upon the attainments with which they may have commenced its exercise. By their aid a standard of examination in the theory and practice of instruction is furnished, which may be fairly exacted of candidates who have chosen a different way to obtain access to the profession.

"Objections have been urged against seminaries for teachers, which apply rather to a defective organization than to the system itself. First, that the youths issuing from them being over-taught, are, in consequence, dissatisfied with their duties, and leave the profession to push themselves forward in a different career of life; and, second, that theoretical, not practical teachers, are formed by them. The first objection points out the necessity for restricting the instruction to that which is essential to a complete fulfilment of the duties of the teachers educated in these schools. The seminary should not go further, and hence the connexion of such establishments with secondary or other higher schools is inadmissible. If the tendency of a seminary course is to render the teacher dissatisfied with his occupation, experience shows that it is a fault in the particular course, the defect not being general to this class of institutions. That a pupil of talent may seek other and more congenial roads to station in life, is no reproach to the seminary where he was educated. The institution secures the services of this pupil to primary instruction by his pledge at entrance, for a number of years, in return for the education

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which he has received, and has so far benefited the community. If by any means it prevents the individual from rising to the position where his talents would place him, an act of positive injustice is committed. Not only the instruction, however, but the whole plan of living in the seminary should be adapted to the future destination of the pupil, and indulgences should not be allowed, which would produce wants not subsequently to be gratified; such is, in fact, the very system of all properly regulated institutions of this class. That mere theoretical teachers are formed in well-conducted seminaries, is by no means the fact. Every care, on the contrary, is taken to avoid this; it is true, that general principles are inculcated, in order that routine in teaching may be avoided; but these principles are constantly applied, and under circumstances where error is sure to be pointed out by the observation of classmates and teachers, and where it can hardly escape correction." — pp. 323 – 327.

ART. III. — *A Discourse on the Aborigines of the Valley of the Ohio; in which the Opinions of the Conquest of that Valley by the Iroquois or Six Nations in the Seventeenth Century, supported by Cadwallader Colden, of New York, Governor Pownall, of Massachusetts, Dr. Franklin, Hon. De Witt Clinton, of New York, and Judge Haywood, of Tennessee, are examined and contested; to which are prefixed some Remarks on the Study of History.* Prepared at the Request of the Historical Society of Ohio. By WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, of North Bend. *Ne incognita pro cognitis habeamus.* — Cicero. Cincinnati, Ohio. 1838. 8vo. pp. 51.

THIS pamphlet discusses several important topics in the history of the native tribes of our continent, with spirit and ability. We propose to offer our readers some account of its contents, with a few extracts, as a specimen of the manner in which the subject is treated by the distinguished author. We have no doubt, that they will be generally interested in learning the views of one, whose long official connexion with the Indian tribes, in peace and in war, and whose familiarity with the topography of the region in question, give to his

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opinions the authority of observation and experience, as far as they are applicable to the matter in hand. It is a source of real satisfaction, and affords relief under the disgust with which a well regulated mind contemplates the ferocity of our party contests, to find an individual, situated like the author of this essay, devoting a portion of his time and his pen to the calm consideration of a subject, whose interest is purely historical. There are certainly but few individuals, whose life, from early youth, has been passed in the arduous active service of the field, and in maturer years amidst the labors and cares of high and responsible official station, who could sustain with more credit a discussion like that contained in the pages under review.

The pamphlet begins with some remarks on the importance of the study of history, and the causes of its neglect. The following extract will afford a sufficient indication of General Harrison's views on this subject.

"It is in youth, and in early youth, that the seeds of that patriotism must be sown, which is to continue to bloom through life. No one ever began to be a patriot in advanced age; that holy fire must be lighted up when the mind is best suited to receive, with enthusiasm, generous and disinterested impressions. If it is not then 'the ruling passion' of the bosom, it will never be at an age when every action is the result of cool calculation, and the basis of that calculation too often the interest of the individual. This has been the prevailing opinion with every free people throughout every stage of civilization, from the roving savage tribe to the numerous and polished nation, from the barbarous Pelasgi to the glorious era of Miltiades and Cimon, or the more refined and luxurious age of Pericles and Xenophon. By all, the same means were adopted. With all, it was the custom to present to their youth the examples of the heroic achievements of their ancestors, to inspire them with the same ardor of devotion to the welfare of their country. As it regards the argument, it matters not whether the history was written or unwritten, whether in verse or prose, or how communicated; whether by national annals, to which all had access; by recitation in solemn assemblies, as at the Olympic and other games of Greece; in the songs of bards, as amongst the Celts and Scandinavians; or in the speeches of the aged warriors, as was practised by the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, and other tribes of our own country. Much fiction was, no doubt, passed off on these occasions as real history; but, as it was believed to be true,

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that was sufficient to kindle the spirit of emulation in the cause of patriotism among those to whom these recitations, songs, and speeches were addressed." — p. 4.

After maintaining the superiority of authentic history over works of imagination as a school of patriotic improvement to the young, the author proceeds to the principal subject of his discourse. The first topic which presents itself is, naturally, the great mystery of the primitive population of the North American continent. General Harrison commences the discussion of this topic, with the following observation;

"Fifty-five years ago, there was not a Christian inhabitant within the bounds which now compose the State of Ohio. And if, a few years anterior to that period, a traveller had been passing down the magnificent river, which forms our southern boundary, he might not have seen, in its whole course of eleven hundred miles, a single human being, — certainly not a habitation, nor the vestige of one, calculated for the residence of man. He might, indeed, have seen indications that it was not always thus. His eye might have rested upon some stupendous mound, or lengthened lines of ramparts, and traverses of earth still of considerable elevation, which proved that the country had once been possessed by a numerous and laborious people. — But he would have seen, also, indubitable evidences that centuries had passed away, since these remains had been occupied by those for whose use they had been reared. Whilst ruminating upon the causes which had occasioned their removal, he would not fail to arrive at the conclusion, that their departure (if they did depart) must have been a matter of necessity. For no people, in any stage of civilization, would willingly have abandoned *such a country*, endeared to them as it must have been, by long residence and the labor they had bestowed upon it, unless, like the descendants of Abraham, they had fled from the face of a tyrant, and the oppressions of unfeeling task-masters. If they had been made to yield to a more numerous or more gallant people, what country had received the fugitives? and what has become of the conquerors? Had they, too, been forced to fly before a new swarm from some northern or southern hive? Still would the question recur, What had been their fate? And why had so large a portion of a country, so beautiful and inviting, so abounding in all that is desirable in the rudest as well as the most advanced state of society, been left as a haunt for the beasts of the forest, or as an occasional arena for distant savages to mingle in mortal conflicts? To

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aid us in coming to any thing like a satisfactory conclusion in answer to those questions, we possess only a solitary recorded fact. For every thing else, we must search amidst the remains which are still before us, for all that we wish to know of the history and character of this ancient and nameless people." — pp. 7, 8.

The "recorded fact," to which allusion is here made, is the migration of the Aztecs from the North, the memory of which is preserved in the pictorial annals of the Mexican race; and this fact unquestionably suggests a possible connexion of the extraordinary works, that are found in the region northwest of the Ohio, with a known race of men, who had attained a degree of civilization competent to the execution of such structures. All beyond this belongs to the region of conjecture.

It is generally admitted, that the mounds, terraces, and other works, of which visible remains exist in many portions of this region, evince a degree of skill, not known to have been possessed by native tribes, which occupied the present territory of the United States of America, at the time of its discovery by the Europeans.* None of the works in question bore the appearance at that time, of being of recent structure. None of the tribes, since their manners and customs began to be noticed by travellers or colonists, have been observed to be in the habit of erecting any similar works, for the purposes of sepulture, castrametation, or agriculture. At the present day, there is not known to be any tribe of the native population of the continent possessed of the numbers, to say nothing of the skill, implied in the construction of these extensive and remarkable works. Nature has borne an unequivocal testimony to their antiquity,

* Mr. Gallatin expresses himself with rather less positiveness on this point, than most other writers have thought it necessary to employ. "There is nothing in their construction," he remarks, "nor in the remnants which they contain, indicative of *a much more* advanced state of civilization, than that of the present inhabitants. But it may be inferred, from their number and size, that they were the work of a more populous nation than any now existing; and, if this inference is correct, it would necessarily imply a state of society, in which greater progress had been made in agriculture." — *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. II. p. 147.

This brings us to the same conclusion as to the diversity of the race, by which the mounds were erected, from that which is now fast hastening to extinction.

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in the size and evident age of the forest trees, that are found growing on the summits of these mounds, and within the enclosure and on the sides of these ramparts or terraces.

There are three suppositions by some one of which their existence must be accounted for. They were either constructed by some race of men sufficiently civilized for this purpose, but of whom no historical memorial, nor any other trace remains, and who, by causes of which we are entirely ignorant, have wholly perished; or they were the works of the Aztecs sojourning in this region, before their migration southward to the elevated plains of Anahuac; or, lastly, they were erected by the ancestors of some of the tribes found by the European colonists in this part of the continent, — in which case those tribes are to be regarded as the degenerate and broken-down remains of more improved ancient races.

Of the first supposition nothing more can be said, than that it is a theory by which we give a rational explanation of existing facts; the principal strength of which theory dwells in the assumed impossibility, that these works could have been erected by tribes no more advanced in civilization than the Indians, found in the continent two centuries and a half ago, and in the supposed want of any historical indication pointing to a different origin. It is saying, in other words, that they were made by the art and labor of men, but we know not of what men. Their memory is buried in the depth and silence of the venerable forests, which cover these works of their hands.

The innate propensity of the mind to generalize its ideas has given greater currency to the second supposition. The universal current of the traditions of the Mexicans, and the express testimony of their hieroglyphical annals (if the interpretation can be depended on, which was given in the age of the Spanish conquest, by those who must have been well acquainted with their symbolic characters), point to a descent of the Aztecs from the north, and ascribe to them a progress sufficiently gradual, to admit of the erection of permanent structures by the way. These facts have led the majority of writers to assume the second as the more probable account of the origin of these works. Such is General Harrison's opinion. In conformity with this view of the subject, the name of Aztalan has been appropriated to the remarkable works, which exist in the territory of Wisconsin.

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In the following note to the main body of the Discourse, General Harrison weighs some of the considerations pertaining to this curious question ;

"The circumstances which militate most against the supposition of the identity of the Aztecs, with the authors of the extensive ancient works in Ohio, is the admitted fact, that the latter entered the valley of Anahuac, from the Northwest, that is, from California, which is much out of the direct route from the Ohio to Mexico. A strong argument in favor of it, is the similarity of the remains which are found in that region (California), as well as in Mexico itself, with those in the valley of the Ohio. I am not informed whether there are any such in the intermediate country between the lower Mississippi and California. But if there are none, it will serve rather to confirm and strengthen my opinion, that the fugitives from the Ohio, were, like those from Troy, a mere remnant, whose numbers were too small to erect works of so much labor, as those they had left behind had required; but, after their strength had been increased, by a residence for some time in California, the passion for such works returned with the ability to erect them.

"The similarity, in point of form and mode of construction, between the works now to be seen in all the countries I have mentioned, (Ohio, Mexico, and California,) proves that they must have been erected by the same, or a kindred people, derived from the same stock, and if the latter, the separation took place *after the custom of such erections had commenced.*

"If the opinion is adopted, that the Aztecs were never in Ohio, but had pursued the direct route from Asia (whence it is believed they all came) to California, along the coast of the Pacific Ocean, and that the authors of the Ohio erections, were from the same continent and stock, the question may be asked, Where did the separation take place ? Was it before they left Asia, or after their arrival upon the American continent ? Are there any works similar to those in Ohio, Mexico, and California, to be found in the northeast of Asia, or between the Pacific and the Rocky Mountains, or on the route which that branch of the nation would have pursued, which bent their course towards the valley of the Ohio ? If these questions are answered in the negative, it will thus go far to prove that the practice of constructing such works originated in the latter, and that those who erected them were the same people who afterwards sojourned in California, and finally settled in the valley of Anahuac, or Mexico. If we adopt the opinion, that they were totally a distinct people, or were different

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branches of the same original Asiatic stock, we must believe also that they each fell into the practice of erecting extensive works, of the same form, and of the same materials, (in a manner not known to be practised by any other people,) without any previous knowledge to guide them, and without any intercourse. This, to say the least of it, is very improbable.

"If the Aztecs were not the authors of the Ohio works, we can only account for the ultimate fate of those who were, by supposing that they were entirely extirpated, preferring, like the devoted Numantians, to be buried under the ruins of their own walls, to seeking safety by an ignominious flight.

"I find no difficulty, from the facts mentioned in the text, in adopting the opinion, that these people were conquered by those who were less civilized than themselves. An enlightened nation, whose military institutions are founded upon scientific principles, and which relies upon its own citizens for protection, will never be subdued by savages, nor by those who have made little progress in civilization. They may be beaten in a battle, indeed in many battles, as was the case with the barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who first broke through the boundaries of the Roman Republic; and in our day and nation, when the northwestern Indians defeated our armies in two successive campaigns, as they had previously done those of Great Britain. But their triumphs will be terminated as soon as the causes which produce them are ascertained, and a change is effected in the plan of operations, or in the mode of forming the troops to meet the exigency, as was the case in the former under the direction of Caius Marius, and in our own under the direction of Anthony Wayne. But it is quite otherwise, with those who have made such small progress in civilization, as to be unable to make war upon fixed and scientific principles. I have assigned to the nameless nation of our valley the character of an agricultural people, and this is precisely the state (without military institutions) in which a nation is most weak, and most easily conquered, by those who still depend upon the chase for food, or who have advanced still further, and draw their subsistence from flocks and herds of their own rearing. The labors of agriculture serve to form the body to endure the toils and hardships incident to a military life. There is something, too, in that kind of employment, which serves to kindle a spirit of independence in the bosom, and nurture the feelings of patriotism. Hence, it has happened, that agricultural nations, which had engrafted a system of military instruction upon the ordinary education of youth, have always been the most renowned in war, and most difficult to be conquered.

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> "'Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
> Hanc Remus et frater; sic fortis Etruria crevit,
> Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,
> Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.' — *Georg*, II. 532.

"But whilst the occupation of the husbandman furnishes the best materials for making good soldiers, as well from the qualities it imparts to the mind, as the strength and activity which the body receives from constant exercise and nutritive aliment, it teaches nothing of the military art. The hunter, on the contrary, is already a soldier, as far, at least, as individual qualities can make him so. But the pastoral life (not that which the poets have furnished, the pictures drawn from their own imaginations, but that which authentic history describes,) furnishes, not only men suited to war, by their personal qualities, but armies which have acquired, from their congregated mode of life, a degree of discipline, and a knowledge of the most important operations of war. There is nothing in the employment of the agriculturist, or artisan, which bears any resemblance to military duty. The citizens employed in such labor (exclusively) cease to be soldiers, and the agricultural or manufacturing nation, which adopts no system of military instruction for its youth, must depend upon the employment of mercenaries for its protection, or it will become a prey to the first invader. The German or Scythian hordes, which obtained from the fears, or the weakness, of the Roman emperors, settlements within their borders, were unable, after a few years, to resist the new swarms from the same hives, which pressed upon them, and which adhered to their original mode of life and manners. But the most extraordinary instance of the superiority of savages, in war, to an agricultural people who neglect military institutions, is furnished by the history of our own parent Isle, in the application of the Britons for assistance to a Roman emperor, after the abandonment of their Island by troops of the latter. It is impossible for language to convey, at once, a more dastardly spirit, and consciousness of extreme imbecility, than that used by the British deputies, on this occasion. 'The Caledonian savages,' say they, 'drive us to the ocean, and the ocean again repels us back upon our enemies.'" — pp. 46 – 48.

A new species of evidence, of a very peculiar and satisfactory character, has, since the publication of General Harrison's Discourse, been brought forward, to establish the identity of the races of the mounds, with those which had made such advances in civilization, in the more southern portions of the continent. We allude to the resemblance of

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the skulls, which have been found in the mounds in the north-western region, to those which have been discovered in similar ancient works in Mexico and Peru. This important comparison was first instituted by Dr. J. C. Warren, of this city. The result of his observations was communicated to the British Association for the advancement of science, at their meeting in Liverpool, in 1837. Dr. Warren stated that he had for some time been a collector of crania from the mounds, and found them to differ from the skulls of the present races of North American Indians. On returning home one day, he found some skulls upon his table, which had been sent to him in his absence, and which he perceived at a glance to bear a strong resemblance to the mound skulls. As such, he supposed them to have been sent him, by some friend in the Western States. He soon discovered, that they were ancient Peruvian skulls, which had been procured for him in South America. Further comparisons satisfied Dr. Warren, of the identity of the tribes that reared the mounds with the Peruvian race.

Mr. Delafield, in his recent "Inquiry into the Origin of the Antiquities of America," referring to these statements of Dr. Warren, observes, that they are fully confirmed by the examinations made by himself.* Dr. Morton, in his recent splendid work on the American skulls, concludes from his extensive comparison of crania, "that the cranial remains, discovered in the mounds from Peru to Wisconsin, belong to the same race, and probably to the Toltecan family." †

The third opinion above alluded to is, that the Indian tribes, found by the Europeans on our continent, are to be regarded as the degenerate and broken-down remains of more improved races; the descendants of ancestors more civilized than themselves.

We are not prepared to express a preference of this theory over the others; — on the contrary, in the present state of our knowledge on the subject, we are inclined to hold our minds free for the adoption of any view of the subject, which a larger accumulation of facts may render probable. We will only say, that this last supposition is in no degree inconsistent with probability. A degeneracy of this kind, even on the part of races much further advanced in civilization, than it is

* Delafield's *Inquiry*, p. 16.
† Morton's *Crania Americana*, p. 260.

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necessary to suppose the authors of the American mounds and ramparts to have been, is not an uncommon occurrence in the history of the world. A considerable part of Asia, including Egypt, is inhabited by the degenerate descendants of highly cultivated ancestors. Even Greece, — that country, in which physical civilization was carried higher than it has ever been in any other, — has been in after times occupied by a posterity, certainly as little able to conceive or execute the works of Ictinus and Phidias, as the Wyandots or Miamis to construct the mounds of the Muskingum or the Scioto. And yet we must suppose that, for the last eighteen centuries, the civilized population of every part of Europe has been far less exposed to all the causes of degeneracy, than the aboriginal population of this continent, destitute as it was of the art of writing, the great preserver of all other arts. We behold the descendants of that very Mexican or Peruvian population, which is generally supposed to be the race by whom these works were originally constructed, and who are known to have been competent, at the time of the conquest and for several preceding ages, to the erection of structures, more permanent than any of which remains are found in the Northwestern States and territories of our Union, reduced at the present day to a condition, in which they are equally incapable to plan or execute any such works; — a curious specimen of a native civilization not furthered and improved, but crushed and destroyed, by a more advanced supervening foreign civilization.

In fact, the entire question as to the original settlement of our continent seems destined to baffle the resources of human investigation. To say nothing of the inference fairly to be deduced from the Scriptures, that sound philosophy, which teaches us to prefer the simplest explanations of existing phenomena, bids us look to an emigration from northeastern Asia, as the source of the population of this continent; and the most judicious writers are disposed, with Humboldt, to date that emigration from the fifth or sixth century of our era; a period at which it is known, that the nations of northeastern Asia were in extensive agitation and movement. But this solution of the great difficulty is met at the threshold by the popular and pretty obvious objection, that although a lapse of twelve or thirteen centuries is by no means sufficient to destroy all affinity of language between races descended from

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the same stock, we find no resemblance whatever, beyond that which may be ascribed to casual coincidence, between the vocabulary of any of the native languages of America and that of any of the languages of the elder continent. Wherever in Europe or Asia we have the means of instituting the comparison, we find the tribes of men exceedingly tenacious of the radical and substantial parts of a language. There is probably no instance in which a vocabulary has wholly disappeared, except where the race speaking it has been wholly destroyed.

We shall, however, by no means escape this difficulty by assuming, with some of the French philosophers of the last century and their disciples, a primitive plurality of the races of man. Apart from the objections to this assumption, which arise from the cosmogony of the Scriptures, and other difficulties which might be stated, this very difficulty of language exists in an unmitigated form. The dialects of the native tribes of North and South America are exceedingly numerous, but are probably capable of being reduced to a small number of families. Of these families, however, Mr. Gallatin, in his masterly treatise on the Indian tribes of North America, has enumerated twenty-nine. Although, in the opinion of Mr. Du Ponceau, which is adopted by Mr. Gallatin, there is a general *polysynthetic structure*, in all the American languages which have been examined, in which they resemble each other and differ from the ancient and modern languages of the elder continent, there is yet a large number of families of languages on our continent, which appear to be utterly destitute of resemblance with each other, as far as the vocabulary is concerned. This is even not unfrequently the case with tribes, who were found by the first settlers adjacent to each other. It is evident that, on the theory above alluded to, of an original plurality of the races of the human family, this difficulty would present itself in undiminished force ; and that it is no more difficult, on the theory of a common origin, to conceive of an entire dissimilarity between the languages respectively of the American and Asiatic continent, as produced by a non-intercourse and geographical separation of ten or twelve centuries, than to conceive of a like dissimilarity, between the different families of languages of the American tribes, which has disclosed itself on the examination of their vocabularies, as the effect of a similar cause. This difficulty, therefore, if

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deemed decisive against an Asiatic origin of the American races, would go the length of requiring an original creation for every family of languages; a proposition too extravagant to be discussed.

The address before us passes from the consideration of the ancient inhabitants of the valley of the Ohio, to that of the tribes, which were found there by the French and English settlers; and it is the principal object of this, the main, portion of General Harrison's Discourse, to correct the prevalent opinion, that the confederacy of the Five Nations had subjugated the tribes, which formed the Illinois confederacy, and occupied the region between the Ohio and Mississippi. It is admitted on all hands, that the Five Nations, or, as they are called by the French writers, the Iroquois, were perhaps the most warlike, powerful, and successful family among the American Aborigines. Other races excelled them in numbers; but, by acting in concert with each other on the platform of their simple pentarchy, they succeeded in subjugating and destroying tribes supposed to be much larger than themselves. From the earliest period when we become acquainted with them, we find them at war with their neighbours on the north and south, the east and the west. The name of Mohawk carried terror even into the heart of the English settlements in Massachusetts bay. The Hurons, (a tribe belonging, as appears from their language, to another division of the Iroquois stock, but not included by the French under that appellation, because at war with the Five Nations,) were conquered and greatly reduced in numbers to the north of Lake Erie, before the close of the seventeenth century. The Eries, who occupied the region which lies between the Lake of that name and the Ohio river, and now forms the western part of Pennsylvania and the eastern part of Ohio, were exterminated by this ferocious league at a still earlier period. To the south, they pushed their conquests into Georgia, and claimed the Tennessee river as the boundary of their dominion.

Such being the admitted extent of the conquests of the Five Nations, and such the known ascendency of their arms, it was not unnatural, that the earlier writers, but partially acquainted with the interior geography of the continent, having no accurate ideas of the extent of the territory between the Ohio and the Mississippi, and hearing that the war parties of the

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Iroquois had occasionally penetrated to the tribes bordering on the latter, might have been led to loose assertions, that the Mississippi was the boundary of their conquests on the west.

To this supposition General Harrison opposes the following considerations, of which our limits will permit us only a brief indication.

The first is, that the French were ignorant of the Mississippi, till its discovery by Father Marquette, in 1673. He took the route of Lake Michigan and the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and, having descended the Mississippi to the 33d degree of latitude, returned and passed up the Illinois river. Had the Iroquois subdued the confederacy of the Illinois tribes, and pushed their conquest to the Mississippi the preceding year, for such is the date assigned to this event, this fact could not have been unknown to the French colonial government, traders, and missionaries, and a much less circuitous route would have been prescribed to Marquette. The account, moreover, carries incongruity on its face, by assigning the conquest of the Illinois to the year 1672, while another portion of the same account represents the Twigtwees as being conquered by the same formidable adversary in 1683. The Twightwees being the easternmost of the Miami nation, it is justly remarked by General Harrison, that the tradition would have been more probable, had it reversed the order of the events, and made the Twigtwees the first victims of Iroquois encroachment.

Had such a conquest taken place, and such an extension been given to the territory of the Five Nations, there would have been abundant traces of it, in the French accounts. So far is this from being the fact, that we know from the same accounts, that, for nearly a hundred years after, that is, till the final disappearance of the French power from North America in 1763, all this region was in the occupation of tribes friendly to the French, and owning no allegiance to the Iroquois, who were generally in the English interest. In the frequent wars, which took place between the Iroquois and the western Indians, both before and after the establishment of the French among the latter, it is admitted that some of the eastern tribes of the former confederacy had greatly suffered, and that the present State of Ohio was almost deserted. The following, according to the view of General Harrison, was the position of the native population of the territory northwest of the Ohio, about the middle of the seventeenth century.

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"Ascending the lakes and leaving the Iroquois territory, the Wyandots or Hurons, presented themselves. A large portion of this nation were, at that time, north of lake Erie; but the greater part occupied the country from the Miami Bay eastwardly, along what is now denominated the Western Reserve, and extending across the country southwardly, to the Ohio. Westward of this territory commenced that of the Miami nation, or rather confederacy, possessing a larger number of warriors, at that period, than could be furnished by any of the aboriginal nations of North America, before or since. Their territory embraced all of Ohio, west of the Scioto, — all of Indiana, and that part of Illinois, south of the Fox river and Wisconsin, on which frontier they were intermingled with the Kickapoos and some other small tribes. Of this immense territory, the most beautiful portion was unoccupied. Numerous villages were to be found on the Scioto and the head waters of the two Miamis, of the Ohio. On the Miami of the Lake, and its southern tributaries, and throughout the whole course of the Wabash, at least as low as Chippecoke, (the town of Brush Wood,) now Vincennes. But the beautiful Ohio rolled its 'amber tide' until it payed its tribute to the Father of Waters, through an unbroken solitude. At that time, before, and for a century after, its banks were without a town or a village, or even a single cottage, the curling smoke of whose chimney would give the promise of comfort and refreshment to a weary traveller." — pp. 22, 23.

After alluding to the singular and ignominious subjection of the Delawares by the Iroquois, and the conquest and dispersion of the Wyandots or Hurons, an event which the French authors place in the middle of the seventeenth century, but which General Harrison is inclined to bring down to a later period, he observes, that the Five Nations took this occasion to penetrate into Ohio, and that, either at this time or at a later period, they advanced as far west as Sandusky. He denies, however, that there is any tradition among the Miamis, of their ever having been conquered by the Iroquois, and remarks that at the treaty of Greenville there was no allusion to any claim on the part of the Five Nations to any right of property in the soil, or jurisdiction over the territory, of the Miamis.

In the Discourse of Dewitt Clinton before the New York Historical Society, where the extensive conquests of the Five Nations are painted in strong colors, after stating that the date of these conquests is uncertain, he says, "The Illinois fled to the westward, after being attacked by the confederates, and did not return until a general peace; and were permitted, in

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1760, by the confederates, to settle in the country between the Wabash and the Scioto rivers.* Pownall's "Topographical Description" is given as the authority for this statement; and, on turning to Pownall, † we find he asserts it on the authority of "Captain Gordon's journal," who, instead of 1760, uses the expression "sixteen years ago." Whether Captain Gordon's journal was written in 1774, we do not know. We rather suppose, that Governor Clinton inadvertently took the statement to be that of Pownall himself, whose "Topographical Description" was written in 1775. But it is incredible, that the Five Nations claimed a right to dispose of the territory between the Wabash and Scioto as late as the middle of the last century, and that the tribes of the great western league were settled there, at so recent a period, by *their* permission. As the Indians of the Five Nations were careful to inform General Wayne of their ancient conquest of the Delawares, and as any claim adverse to the Miamis was likely to be viewed with favor by the United States, at the treaty of Greenville, great importance is justly attached by General Harrison to the circumstance, that no such claim was then alluded to. Though the Five Nations were not a party to the treaty of Greenville, there were those present who would gladly have revived such a tradition, to the disadvantage of the Miamis, had any such tradition then existed. We regard this consideration as of a decisive character.

The following statements are also entitled to great weight, and point to the same conclusion.

"The French had establishments in the Illinois country in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and, upon the authority of the learned and Rev. Dr. Bruté, present bishop of Vincennes, Mr. Butler, in his recent History of Kentucky, asserts that Vincennes was a missionary post, so early as the year 1700. At that period the Miami nation is represented by all French accounts as very numerous, and in the undisputed possession of all the country I have claimed for them. I have myself seen a very old and respectable citizen of St. Louis, who recollected when the five tribes of the nation, who went under the appellation of Illinois tribes, could bring into the field four thousand warriors; and yet they did not compose the strength of the nation, which was to be found strung along the banks of the Wabash and its tributary streams, and no doubt far into Ohio.

* Dewitt Clinton's *Historical Discourse*, p. 28. † *Ibid.*, p. 42.

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In the year 1734, M. De Vincennes, a captain in the French army, found them in possession of the whole of the Wabash, and their principal town occupying the site of Fort Wayne, which was actually the key of the country below. This officer was the first Frenchman who followed the route of the Miami of the Lake, and the Wabash, in passing from Canada to their western settlements ; and, in doing so at this time, throws some light upon the chronology of some of the events to which I have referred. Long before this period, the French must have known of the shorter and easier route, and no reason can be assigned for their having never used it, but from its being the seat of war, on some portion of it, which rendered it unsafe. This war I suppose to be that between the Wyandots and Iroquois ; and, although I would fix its termination earlier by some years than the expedition of De Vincennes, yet, being an experiment, it is probable that it required some time to ascertain its entire safety ; nor is it at all impossible, that the Tiwictewees (always the most eastern of the Miami tribes) were not upon the most friendly terms with the Iroquois. Indeed, the probability is, that there was war between them, but not of a decisive character, and if any conquest were made, or any part of the territory of the Miamis conquered, it must have been of trifling extent ; if victories had been gained, their effects were evanescent, and of no use to the conquerors. De Vincennes, in 1734, found them (the Miamis) in the possession of the entire Wabash ; and, in 1751, the Tiwictewees were visited at their towns, on the Scioto, one hundred and fifty miles from the mouth, by Mr. Gist, of Virginia, whose Journal has been lately published by Mr. Sparks, amongst the Washington papers. Mr. Gist remarks, that they were there ' in amity with the Six Nations,' and adds, that they ' appeared to him to be a very superior people' to their supposed conquerors. Amongst the inconsistencies to be found in the declaration of those who support the pretensions of the Iroquois on this side of the Ohio, I shall at this time mention but one. After broadly asserting the claim of conquest to the Mississippi, it seems, that, in 1781, Colonel Croghan, who is represented to have been an agent with the Iroquois for the thirty years preceding, limited their right ' on the southeast side of the Ohio, to the Cherokee (Tennessee) river, and to the Big Miami, a stony river on the northwest side.' Even this reduced claim to the territory within one State, will not be admitted ; as it has been shown, that the Tiwictewees were in full possession of the Scioto, upwards of one hundred miles above the Miami, where they were visited by Mr. Gist, and presented nothing to indicate a conquered people."—pp. 28, 29.

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General Harrison is strongly inclined to the opinion, that the idea of remote and extensive conquests is inconsistent with that want of military discipline and organization, which existed on the part of the Iroquois, however distinguished they might be as savage warriors.

"But, setting aside all that has been advanced adverse to the claims of the Six Nations to be the extensive conquerors that they have so long been considered, there are, I think, insuperable arguments to be found against it, drawn from the nature of man in every age, and from the state in which they were at that period. They have been compared to the Romans, — but in what did the resemblance consist? Like that celebrated people they might have been ambitious of extending their influence, and, like them, constant in adhering to a course of policy adapted to secure it. But there the parallel must end. The ingredient in the composition of a Roman army, to which all their conquests are justly attributed, they did not, and in the state of society to which they were advanced, they could not possess. I allude to that bond by which an army of many thousands are brought to a harmony and unity of action, as if they were possessed of but one spirit and one mind. Without this, no distant foreign conquests ever have been or ever can be made. In every considerable collection of men in arms, in every state of society, the elements of faction, disunion, and final dissolution are always to be found. If the warriors of the Iroquois did not possess this spirit in a superior degree, they greatly differ from the kindred tribes of this country, with whom I have been acquainted. To have conquered the numerous tribes between their frontier and the Mississippi, in the short period assigned, an army of many thousands would have been requisite. How would an army of that size be supported? The game of the forest flies before the march of an army, and the state in which these Indians were at that time, being without beasts of burden (and having a natural horror of exercising that quality of the Roman soldiers themselves), they would be unable to apply the superabundance of one day to the wants of another. The power to move men in masses, to be efficient, is one of the highest evidences of civilization. The manner of making war amongst the North American Indians was totally different. They endeavoured to *wear away* their enemy, by surprising and butchering, now a family, less frequently a hunting camp, but rarely a village. If the hostile parties were in juxtaposition, as the Sacs and Foxes and the Illinois Miamis, a few years would determine the contest. But if they were separated by a large tract of un-

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occupied territory, as the northwest and southern Indians, ages might pass over without any thing decisive being effected." — pp. 34, 35.

The residue of this interesting Discourse is occupied with a condensed sketch of the history of the Indian tribes, in the territory northwest of the Ohio, to the present day. It is a melancholy picture. Till the peace of 1763, the Iroquois or Five Nations on the one side, and the northwestern tribes on the other, were respectively employed and instigated by the French and English, as instruments of mutual annoyance and dissolution. By that treaty, the French interest on the continent was extinguished, at least, as far as it depended on the action of the Canadian government. It may however well be supposed, that a powerful influence, adverse to the Anglo-American colonies, was exercised by the numerous French missionary establishments in the West. It may fairly enough be presumed, that the policy pursued by the provincial government of British America, between the treaty of 1783 and the surrender of the western posts, was substantially imitated from that, which had been adopted by the French between the Seven Years' War and the Revolution. Whether this be true or not, it is certain, in point of fact, that hostilities against the British colonies were continued, on the part of the French Indians, for a year after the peace of 1763. Drafts were requested of the New England militia, to march for the defence of Michilimakinac ; an expedition which, considering the state of the internal communications of the country at that time, was no doubt considered as formidable, as a march at the present day from the Atlantic coast to the mouths of the Columbia river. Michilimackinac and many other posts were surprised and captured by Pontiac, and a similar fate had nearly overtaken Detroit. But a treaty of peace, under the mediation of the Six Nations, was at length concluded.

"It was not, however," says General Harison, "kept with good faith by the Indians, who continued to commit occasional depredations upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, throughout the ten following years. In the year 1774, a grand expedition, under the command of the titled Governor of Virginia (Lord Dunmore) against the Indians of Ohio, resulted in the celebrated battle of Kenhawa by the left wing of the army, whilst that under the immediate orders of the Governor penetrated to within a short distance of the Shawanees town on the

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Scioto, where a precipitate treaty was concluded, and the Governor hastened to his capital, to provide against a storm of a different character ; of the approach of which he had seen evidences not to be misapprehended.

"In the year 1775, Great Britain (determined to compel her colonies to submit to her arbitrary mandates, with that recklessness of means for which she has ever been remarkable, whenever a purpose of aggrandizement, or vengeance, was to be secured,) by the influence of the traders, by large donations, and larger promises, engaged all the northwestern Indians in her cause, with a view to the devastation of the frontiers. Attempts were made by Congress to avert this calamity, by convincing the Indians, that they had no interest in the quarrel, and that the wiser path, was to observe a perfect neutrality. Nothing can show the anxiety of Congress to effect this object in stronger colors, than the agreement entered into with the Delaware tribes, at a treaty concluded at Pittsburg, in 1778. By an article in that treaty, the United States proposed that a State should be formed, to be composed of the Delawares and other tribes, and contracted to admit them, when so formed, as one of the members of the Union. But this, as it might perhaps have been afterwards considered, enviable distinction, weighed but little in the eyes of the Indians, compared to the present advantages of arms and equipments, clothing and trinkets, which were profusely distributed by the agents of Great Britain." — pp. 36, 37.

With the breaking out of the Revolution, in 1775, commenced an Indian war, which outlasted that with the mother country by twelve years, and for all that period not only obstructed the settlement of the territory northwest of the Ohio, but inflicted on the frontiers the heart-sickening cruelties of a savage warfare. Such was the fruit of the detention of the western posts ; and of the insidious policy of the Canadian government, in preventing an accommodation between the United States and the northwestern tribes. Much light has been thrown on this important and not well-understood chapter of our history, in the late valuable "Life of Thayendanegea," by Colonel Stone. The papers of this celebrated Mohawk chieftain, placed at the disposition of his industrious biographer, have cleared up several doubtful points. With the other documents submitted to Colonel Stone's inspection, among the papers of Brant, is a certified copy of the celebrated answer of Lord Dorchester to a speech of the Indians of the seven villages of Lower Canada, assembled at Quebec, as deputies

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from all the nations who attended the great council of the Miamis in the year 1793. This speech, at the time, was believed to be authentic by General Washington and by Governor Clinton of New York, to whom a copy was sent by Washington, in order to the settlement of that point. Chief Justice Marshall pronounced it spurious, without stating the grounds of his judgment; and in this opinion he is followed by Mr. Sparks. Its authenticity, however, was admitted at the time by the British minister, in a letter to the Secretary of State, who had made it the subject of a remonstrance. Colonel Stone seems to put the matter beyond doubt. "I have myself," says he, "transcribed the preceding extracts from a certified manuscript copy, discovered among the papers of Joseph Brant, in my possession." *

Few events in the history of the country have exercised a more powerful influence on its progress, than the victory of General Wayne over the combined forces of the northwestern confederacy, on the 20th of August, 1794. This event, followed as it was by the treaty of Greenville, threw open the floodgates of emigration into the territory beyond the Ohio. The modesty of General Harrison has not only led him to suppress all mention of the fact, that he was himself, as an aid of the commander-in-chief, among the foremost in the dangers of that decisive conflict; — that he was even present in the battle could not be gathered from his brief allusion to it. He confines himself exclusively to a tribute of well-deserved commendation of the commanding General. The tribes, united in the war, which was happily brought to a close by this conflict, were the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Chippewas, Ottowas, Potowatomies, and Miamis.

"The abovementioned tribes," says General Harrison, "could not have brought into the field more than three thousand warriors at any time, during the ten years preceding the treaty of Greenville; although, a few years before, the Miamis alone could have furnished more than that number. The constant war with our frontier, had deprived them of many of their warriors; but the ravages of the smallpox were the principal cause of this great decrease of their numbers. They composed, however, a body of the finest light troops in the world.

* Stone's *Life of Thayendanegea*, Vol. II. p. 369. — Marshall's *Life of Washington*, Vol. V. p. 535. — Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. X. p. 394. — Wait's *American State Papers*, Vol. III. p. 60, 3d edition.

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And, had they been under an efficient system of discipline, or possessed enterprise equal to their valor, the settlement of the country would have been attended with much greater difficulty than was encountered in accomplishing it, and their final subjugation delayed for some years. The Wyandots, the leading tribe of the confederacy, and that to whose custody the great calumet, the symbol of their union, was intrusted, had authority to call a council of the chiefs of the several tribes, to consult upon their affairs. But there was no mode of enforcing their decision, and the execution of any plan of operations, that might have been determined on, depended entirely upon the good pleasure of those who were to execute it. At one time it was thought, indeed, that they had adopted the very judicious plan of cutting off the convoys of the army, by a constant succession of detachments. This was, however, soon abandoned. And under the influence of the confidence which they had acquired, as well in their valor as their tactics, from their repeated success, they again determined to commit the fate of themselves and their country to the issue of a general battle. This was all that was wanted by the American commander. By this fatal determination, they had already prepared the wreath of laurels which was to adorn his brow by their complete and total discomfiture. The tactics which had been adopted for the American Legion, had been devised with a reference to all the subtilties, which those of the Indians were well known to possess. It united the apparently opposite qualities of compactness and flexibility, and a facility of expansion under any circumstances, and in any situation, which rendered utterly abortive the peculiar tact of the Indians in assailing the flanks of their adversaries."—pp. 39, 40.

General Harrison closes his interesting Discourse with a brief sketch of the general traits of character of the tribes now almost extinct, whose history he has related. He gives to the Wyandots the unquestioned preference on the score of bravery. With the other tribes, flight in battle, when occasioned by unexpected resistance and obstacles, brought with it no disgrace. It was rather a part of the Indian strategy; a manifestation of the peculiar temperament of most of the Indian tribes, which led them, instead of pressing fortune under adverse circumstances, to wait patiently for a change. With the Wyandots it was otherwise. Their young men were taught to consider as disgraceful any thing that looked like acknowledging the superiority of an enemy. In the battle of the Rapids of the Miami, in which the confederated tribes were

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broken by General Wayne, of thirteen chiefs of the Wyandots one only survived, and he badly wounded. The following anecdote illustrates this trait in their character.

"When General Wayne assumed the position of Greenville, in 1793, he sent for Captain Wells, who commanded a company of scouts, and told him, that 'he wished him to go to Sandusky and take a prisoner, for the purpose of obtaining information.' Wells (who, having been taken from Kentucky when a boy, and brought up amongst the Indians, was perfectly acquainted with their character) answered, that 'he could take a prisoner, but not from Sandusky.' 'And why not from Sandusky?' said the General. 'Because,' answered the Captain, 'there are only Wyandots there.' 'Well, why will not Wyandots do?' 'For the best of reasons,' said Wells, 'because Wyandots will not be taken alive.'" — p. 51.

We are left by our author to learn the last important chapter in the history of most of the Indian tribes, once conspicuous in the valley of the Ohio, from other pens than his own. Beyond a brief allusion, in the concluding paragraphs of the Discourse, to the conduct of the celebrated chieftain Tecumthè, at the council of Vincennes, in 1810, there is no reference to those momentous events and struggles, in which General Harrison himself performed the most conspicuous part. This celebrated Indian chieftain, who may with propriety be placed by the historian on the same page with King Philip, Pontiac, and Brant, was the son of a Shawanoe father and Cherokee mother, a descent which admirably adapted him to achieve that project, which, to some extent, is supposed to have been contemplated by the other eminent Indian chieftains whom we have named, that of bringing all the Indian tribes into one grand confederacy. This policy, as far as it extended, was the secret of the strength of the Five Nations. It is even affecting to hear these poor children of nature, by their speaker Canassatego, at the council of Lancaster, in 1744, recommending *Union* to the American colonies. At the session of the FOURTH OF JULY of that year, the eloquent Onondago warrior used this remarkable language;

"We have one thing further to say, and that is, we heartily recommend union and good agreement between you and your brethren. Never disagree, but preserve a strict friendship for each other, and thereby you, as well as we, will become the stronger.

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"Our wise forefathers established union and amity between the Five Nations; this has made us formidable; this has given us great weight and authority with our neighbouring nations.

"We are a powerful confederacy; and, by your observing the same methods which our wise forefathers have taken, you will acquire fresh strength and power; therefore, whatsoever befalls you, never fall out with each other." *

If this is the language of barbarism, what is civilization!

While we write these lines, the intelligence reaches us, that, in virtue, rather let us say *by force*, of one of those monstrous impositions called Indian treaties, negotiated, in the present instance, against the wishes of fourteen fifteenths of those whose lands it cedes, the last remnant of those sagacious and formidable tribes, whose representative, in 1744, uttered these counsels of friendship and wisdom, are about to be driven from their last foothold in New York, and transported to a "new home" west of the States of Arkansas and Missouri. Whatever doubts may rest on the question discussed in the address before us, whether the victorious arms of the Five Nations were ever pushed to the Mississippi, no doubt, unhappily, will be left to the future historian, that they are now to be driven across that river, by their civilized, humane, and Christian neighbours; and this by force of a treaty, of which the President of the United States remarks, in communicating it to Congress, "that improper means have been employed to obtain the assent of the Seneca chiefs, there is too much reason to believe." That their condition will be improved by the removal is an opinion, we know, entertained by persons of integrity and honor, and we devoutly hope that it may be realized. But this opinion, however confidently entertained, and however likely to be justified by the result, furnishes no apology, so long as their right to occupy their reservations is admitted, for forcing them to quit their homes, under the forms of a mock treaty, concluded against the wishes, however unenlightened or misguided, of a great majority of the tribe.

* Colden's *History of the Five Nations;* in the Papers annexed, p. 149.

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ART. IV. — 1. *Vie, Correspondance et Ecrits de Washington, publiés d'après l'Edition Américaine et précédés d'une Introduction sur l'Influence et le Caractère de Washington dans la Révolution des Etats Unis de l'Amérique ;* par M. GUIZOT, Membre de l'Institut. Paris : Librairie de Charles Gosselin. 6 tomes. 8vo. 1840.

2. *An Essay on the Character of Washington and his Influence in the Revolution of the United States of America.* By M. GUIZOT. Translated from the French. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1840. 16mo.

M. GUIZOT, under whose auspices this work appears, may with great justice be reputed among the most distinguished individuals of the age. His recent appointment, as the French ambassador in England, is a sufficient indication of his standing among the public men in France ; inasmuch as he can owe his designation to this high and responsible post, to none of those considerations of hereditary rank and wealth, which decided such appointments under the old *régime.* As a philosophical historian, he has acquired a reputation second to no other in Europe. Not to mention a number of earlier productions, which evince a fertility and readiness not inferior to the higher qualities of his pen, his "History of the English Revolution," and still more his "History of Civilization," abundantly entitle him to this rank, among living writers. Sir James Mackintosh was accustomed to speak of the first-named work as the best which had been written on the subject. The "History of Civilization" is a production of great originality and power, and will exercise a very extensive influence over the public mind. It will do more, with reflecting minds, than all other works which have been written, to bring up the phenomena of past history with the freshness and reality of passing events, by presenting them in those natural groups, and connecting them by those influences and sympathies, which nothing short of the finest tact and most profound sagacity are competent to trace through the obscurity and confusion of distant and barbarous ages.

In our review of Mr. Sparks's edition of the "Writings of Washington," * we mentioned, that those portions of them,

* *North American Review,* Vol. XLVII. p. 379 *et seq.*

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which are best adapted for the European reader, would be selected by M. Guizot and published in a French translation. The volumes before us appear in execution of the arrangements made for this purpose. They contain a complete and literal translation of the "Life of Washington" (which fills the first of Mr. Sparks's volumes), and those parts of the Correspondence which were deemed by M. Guizot most important and interesting to the French public, 1. As throwing light on the relations of France and the United States during the Revolution, and the agency of the former in bringing about this glorious event; 2. As developing the policy of Washington, in reference to the formation of the constitution, and the establishment of the government, of the United States; 3. As displaying the character, disposition, and manners of their illustrious author.

The translation is preceded by an Introductory Discourse, from the pen of M. Guizot, on the character, influence, and political career of Washington, written in the best manner of this distinguished statesman and scholar. This Introduction gives a value to the present publication, even for the American reader, familiar as, of course, he must already be, with every other portion of its contents. M. Guizot here employs his luminous pen, which has shed original light upon the entire history of modern civilization, in illustrating that pure and canonized name, of which it has already become doubtful, whether it is more an object of veneration or of love. The American citizen, uncertain as he cannot but feel himself at times, whether he pays his homage to the real and unexaggerated merit of the father of his country, or to an ideal excellence created under the influence of gratitude after the lapse of years, and seeking refuge from the selfish pretensions and pompous egotism of men and parties of the present day, is delighted to find his highest estimation of Washington confirmed by the calm judgment and philosophical investigation of the other hemisphere. The opinion of an enlightened foreigner, studiously formed and pronounced voluntarily and in good faith, has something not unlike the gravity of the judgment of after times. It is generally as little possible for moderate worth and mere party merit to cross the abyss of waters as the abyss of ages. The contemporary world beyond the ocean is a kind of anticipated posterity.

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The "Advertisement," prefixed to this publication, announces its importance in the judgment of the French public, and pays a just tribute to the merit of Mr. Sparks's labors. "No distant event," say the editors, "has created in France so lively an interest as the Revolution of the United States of America. No great man in foreign countries has been, to the same extent as Washington, the object of general admiration in France. He possessed the favor of the country and of the court, of the old *régime* and of the regenerated nation. During his life, Louis the Sixteenth lavished upon him the marks of his esteem; at his death, Napoleon decreed him a public mourning and a funeral discourse."

The original edition of Mr. Sparks is characterized in the following terms;

"An able editor, Mr. Sparks, already well known by his important historical labors, and especially by his 'Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States during the War of Independence,' published at Boston, in twelve volumes octavo, has examined these papers and made extracts and selections from them. The family of Washington, his surviving friends, and some of the most intelligent and distinguished members of Congress, have assisted him in this patriotic task. Mr. Sparks has not remained content with the collection of materials, already so ample, which were within his control; he travelled over America and Europe, and the public archives and private collections of France and England were liberally opened to him. He has sought after, and brought together from all quarters, the documents necessary to illustrate and complete the authentic biography of a great man, which is the history of the infant years of a great people; and a work in twelve large octavo volumes, adorned with portraits, plates, and *fac-similes*, under the title of 'The Writings of George Washington,' has been the result of this labor, which has been animated by patriotism, a sense of duty, and a love of the subject."—*Advertisement*, pp. vii, viii.

After a statement of the contents of the volumes, the Advertisement proceeds;

"Each volume is terminated by an Appendix, in which the Editor has collected a variety of historical documents of great interest, and, generally speaking, hitherto unpublished, illustrative of the principal events of the period and of the most important portions of the life and character of Washington.

"Finally, numerous and accurate notes, scattered through

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the work, give all the information necessary for the complete understanding of the letters and incidents to which they relate.

"Viewed as a whole and in its details, in its literary execution and in its outward form, the edition is worthy of the great name to which it is consecrated.

"In 1838, when the publication had just been completed, the American publishers, desirous that Washington should be as well known in France as in his own country, addressed themselves to M. Guizot, requesting him to make a selection from the voluminous correspondence, of such portions as seemed most calculated to awaken an interest in the French public, and to superintend their publication. M. Guizot has made this selection, upon the principle of taking, First, the letters concerning the relations of France and the United States at that period, and the distinguished part which our country acted in that great event; Secondly, those which develope the political views of Washington in the formation of the constitution, and the organization of the government, of the United States, — views full of valuable instruction; Thirdly, those which contain the most striking manifestations of the character, turn of mind, and manners, of the great man from whom they proceeded.

"In order to accomplish fully the honorable task which he undertook, M. Guizot was desirous of presenting his own views of the character of Washington and of his influence in the Revolution, which founded the United States of America; and these are contained in the Introduction, which is prefixed to our edition.

"We have spared no pains to make the appearance of our work worthy of the intrinsic value of its contents. We are indebted to the kindness of General Cass, the minister of the United States in France, for assistance and information of the most valuable kind; and he has given them in a spirit of kindness, at once so enlightened and so generous, that we feel it our duty to make a public acknowledgment of our obligations to him." — *Ibid.*, pp. ix – xi.

It is difficult, by a brief analysis, which is all that the nature of our journal permits, to impart a just idea of the Introduction of M. Guizot. It is written with great care; it is evidently the fruit of a systematic study of American history, — particularly in the revolutionary and constitutional periods, — and of profound meditation on the spirit of popular institutions. More than all, it is the emanation of a gen-

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erous love of the great theme on which he discourses. His apprehension of the relations of things is generally correct; his knowledge of facts minute and accurate; his judgment of character candid; and his own moral and political principles, as disclosed in his commentary on those of Washington, (for the historian generally portrays himself while describing others,) are such as command our respect and admiration. — It is easy to discern in M. Guizot's essay, the man of religious conscience, and the rational friend of human liberty, passing judgment on one, who lived and acted in the habitual reverence of a watchful Providence, and was too sincere a friend to freedom to undervalue those institutions, which are necessary to give it a practical value for the purposes of life. This performance alone would be sufficient to convince us, that M. Guizot is as far as Washington from being one of the godless patriots, whose sounding eulogies of the rights of man are coupled with the disbelief of all that makes man and his rights more valuable than the beast and his instincts; and who, from their excessive attachment to liberty, are constantly goading society into a disrelish of all the fireside pursuits and enjoyments, which it is the object of liberty to secure and diffuse.

"It is well known, that, in the eighteenth century, the human understanding, impelled by the accumulation of wealth, the growth of population, and the increase of every form of social power, as well as by its own impetuous and self-derived activity, attempted the conquest of the world. Political science, in all its forms, woke into new and vigorous life; as did, to a still greater degree, the spirit of philosophy, proud, unsatisfied, eager to penetrate and to regulate all things. English America shared in this great movement, but serenely and dispassionately; obeying its inherent tendency rather than rushing into new and untried paths. Philosophical opinions were there combined with religious belief, the triumphs of reason with the heritage of faith, and the rights of man with those of the Christian.

"A noble spectacle is presented to us, when we see the union of historical and rational right, of traditions and opinions. A nation, in such a case, gains in prudence as well as in energy. When time-honored and esteemed truths control man without enslaving him, restrain at the same time that they support him, he can move onward and upward, without danger of being carried away by the impetuous flight of his own spirit, soon to be either dashed in pieces against unknown obstacles,

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or to sink gradually into a sluggish and paralyzing inactivity. And when, by a further union, still more beautiful and more salutary, religious belief is indissolubly linked, in the very mind of man, to the general progress of opinions, and liberty of reason to the firm convictions of faith, — it is then that a people may trust themselves to the boldest institutions. For religious belief promotes, to an incalculable extent, the wise management of human affairs. In order to discharge properly the duty assigned to him in this life, man must contemplate it from a higher point of view ; if his mind be merely on the same level with the task he is performing, he will soon fall below it, and become incapable of accomplishing it in a worthy manner." — *Essay*, pp. 5 – 7.

Having briefly sketched the ante-revolutionary relation of the colonies to the mother country, the tendency to encroach, on the one side, and the disposition to resist upon principle, on the other, M. Guizot announces, in the following lofty terms, the great right of revolution.

" Evidently the day had arrived, when power had forfeited its claim to loyal obedience ; and when the people were called upon to protect themselves by force, no longer finding in the established order of things either safety or shelter. Such a moment is a fearful one, big with unknown events ; one, which no human sagacity can predict, and no human government can control, but which, notwithstanding, does sometimes come, bearing an impress stamped by the hand of God. If the struggle, which begins at such a moment, were one absolutely forbidden ; if, at the mysterious point in which it arises, this great social duty did not press even upon the heads of those who deny its existence, the human race, long ago, wholly fallen under the yoke, would have lost all dignity as well as all happiness." — *Ibid.*, p. 27.

The right of revolution is one of those *arcana imperii*, which, under an hereditary government, cannot, consistently with the principles of the government itself, be defined. Our forefathers had not always the best of the argument. They denied the right of internal taxation and admitted in theory what was by far the greater practical grievance, the competence of Parliament to enact laws of trade, which should regulate the commerce of the whole empire with a view to the paramount advantage of the mother country. They flamed into uncompromising resistance against taxes, which would have been scarcely felt by those who paid them ; and acquiesced (not very cheerfully, it is true,) for a century and a

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half in the Navigation Act, which operated upon the march of American prosperity, like the iron shoes on the feet of the Chinese children. If the fathers of the Revolution had their argument to re-state, they would learn higher principles out of their successful labors. They have taught us a better philosophy, than they professed themselves; namely, the utter incompatibility of colonial government with constitutional liberty at home or abroad. At *home* or abroad; for, as Hume said Great Britain had to thank the Puritans for her liberty, so it may well be inquired, what the constitutional liberties of England would have been, if Lord North's ministry had crushed the American Revolution. It was for this reason, *partly*, that Lord Chatham (whom M. Guizot inadvertently elevates at the expense of others, in calling him *le seul homme supérieur du pays*), and his worthy associates in opposition to the American war, Burke and Fox, took the side of the colonies. They knew the battle of the old English constitutional spirit and principles was fighting on transatlantic ground. They were opposed to the independence of the colonies, it is true. The leaders of the Revolution among ourselves came slowly to the contemplation of it, and it could not be expected of English statesmen and patriots, to push their theories of government to the dissolution of the Empire; — to destroy the body corporate, for the sake of vindicating the principles of its organization. But these wise and patriotic men unquestionably perceived, that the liberties of Englishmen in Britain would not stand firm, if the liberties of Englishmen in America were trampled under foot. "In order to prove that the Americans have no right to *their* liberties," said Mr. Burke, in that all but inspired oration upon Conciliation with America, delivered, alas, not a month before the blood shed at Lexington, "we are every day endeavouring to subvert the maxims, which preserve the spirit of *our own*. To prove that the Americans ought not to be free, we are obliged to depreciate the value of freedom itself; and we never seem to gain a paltry advantage over them in debate, without attacking some of those principles, or deriding some of those feelings, for which our ancestors shed their blood."* So too Lord Chatham, a few months earlier, as heard and reported by a spirit of kindred fire; "My Lords, there are three millions of whigs in America. Three millions of whigs, with arms in their hands, are a very formidable

* Burke's *Works*, Vol. I. p. 189, edition of 1834, London.

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body. It was the whigs, my Lords, that set his Majesty's royal ancestors on the throne of England. I hope there are yet double the number of whigs in England, that there are in America. I hope the whigs of both countries will join and make common cause. Ireland is with the Americans, to a man. The whigs of that country will, and those of this country ought, to think the American cause their own. They are allied to each other in sentiment and interest, united in one great principle of defence and resistance against tyranny and oppression. They ought, therefore, and they will, run to embrace and support their brethren. The cause of ship-money was the cause of all the whigs of England. 'You shall not take my money without my consent,' is the doctrine and the language of whigs; it is the doctrine and voice of whigs in America and whigs here. It is the doctrine in support of which, I do not know how many names I could — I may call in this House, — among the living, I cannot say how many I could call, — to join with me and maintain these doctrines with their blood; but, among the dead, I could raise a host innumerable! And, my Lords, at this day, there are very many sound, substantial, honest whigs, who ought and who will consider *this American Controversy*, AS A GREAT COMMON CAUSE." *

When the objection presented itself to Mr. Burke's mind, that these views would go much further than merely to exempt Americans from British taxation, — that they would authorize a claim to representation in Parliament, — he met it with the argument "*Opposuit natura*; a great flood stops me in my course. I cannot remove the eternal barriers of creation." How would it stand with this argument, now that these barriers are broken down by modern art, and this mighty flood is bridged over by the steam-engine? It is now as easy to reach London from New York, as to reach Washington from Louisiana or Wisconsin. How will statesmen of the present day, in England, meet a demand of a share of parliamentary representation, on the part of colonies of English origin and descent, and deemed capable of self-government by local assemblies?

We hold it to be impossible to govern colonies without violating the principles and spirit of constitutional government

* Memoir of Josiah Quincy, Jr., pp. 325, 326.

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in the mother country. The attempt to do it is beset with constantly recurring embarrassments. The first step in the administration of Lord Durham, a British constitutional statesman of the most liberal school, brought him directly into conflict with the constitutional laws of England. Remote and barbarous dependencies may be governed by military power; and constitutional governments, at home, may perform with vigor the part of arbitrary governments abroad. But if proximity, or the modern facilities of intercommunication, or the press, bring the colonial administration to the familiar notice of the metropolitan public; if the colony purports to be, not a garrison nor a camp, but a free community, it must have assemblies, and discussions, and parties, and laws; it must have something more, which cannot be granted without severing the colonial bond, nor be denied to it consistently with either the theory or the safety of the domestic constitution. It was not Julius Cæsar who overturned the republic of Rome. Her liberties were, in fact, subdued by the famous old warriors of an earlier stage. Paulus Emilius conquered, not merely the Macedonian monarchy, but the Roman commonwealth, when he broke through the defiles of Pindus. Scipio Africanus saved his country from Carthage, but gave her up a prey to the bribes and violence of all the pampered proconsuls, that were thenceforth to fatten on Africa. To the eye of the philosopher, the liberties of Rome suffered more at Zama than at Cannæ; and Pompey, when he conquered Tigranes, the king of kings, became scarcely less formidable to the ancient freedom of his country, (had it, indeed, not already perished under Marius and Sylla,) than Cæsar when he conquered Pompey.*

But, *Qui nous délivrera?* M. Guizot sketches, with a masterly pen, the auspices under which the Revolution in America commenced; the support which it received from those in England who opposed the measures of the ministry; the favor and the alliances which it acquired on the continent; the difficulties and embarrassments which assailed it at home; the want of unanimity which beset the progress of the contest, and which degenerated, in some of the States, into the worst extremes of civil war; the decline of the active spirit of re-

* Sallust mentions the period of the maritime and Mithridatic wars of Pompey, as that in which "plebis opes imminutæ, paucorum potentia crevit." — *Bellum Catilin.* 40.

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sistance, and with it the immense difficulty of recruiting and supporting the armies; and the necessity which devolved on Washington, of watching over, combining, or rather creating, at every step, the elements of the new political and military system.

Thus brought upon the stage, Washington is briefly described in his early history, and personal relations, and youthful entrance upon the duties and cares of active service and command. That M. Guizot has rightly apprehended the early maturity of his character is evident from the following passage.

"In 1754, he was just appearing in society, and entering upon his military career. It is a young officer of two-and-twenty, who commands battalions of militia, and corresponds with the representative of the king of England. In neither of these relations does he feel any embarrassment. He loves his associates; he respects the king and the governor; but neither affection nor respect alters the independence of his judgment or of his conduct. By an admirable, instinctive power of action and command, he sees and apprehends, by what means and upon what terms success is to be obtained in the enterprise he has undertaken on behalf of his king and his country. And these terms he imposes, these means he insists upon; from the soldiers he exacts all that can be accomplished by discipline, promptness, and activity in the service; from the governor, that he shall discharge his duty in respect to the pay of the soldiers, the furnishing of supplies, and the choice of officers. In every case, whether his words or opinions are sent up to the superior to whom he is rendering his account, or pass down to the subordinates under his command, they are equally precise, practical, and decided, equally marked by that authority which truth and necessity bestow upon the man who appears in their name."—*Ibid.*, pp. 55–57.

After repeating the beautiful anecdote of the inability of Washington, through diffidence, to reply to the complimentary address of the Speaker of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, M. Guizot makes the following fine and discriminating remarks on his character;

"However, to say nothing of eloquence, Washington had not those brilliant and extraordinary qualities, which strike the imagination of men at the first glance. He did not belong to the class of men of vivid genius, who pant for an opportunity of display, are impelled by great thoughts or great passions, and

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diffuse around them the wealth of their own natures, before any outward occasion or necessity calls for its employment. Free from all internal restlessness, and the promptings and pride of ambition, Washington did not seek opportunities to distinguish himself, and never aspired to the admiration of the world. This spirit, so resolute, this heart so lofty, was profoundly calm and modest. Capable of rising to a level with the highest destiny, he might have lived in ignorance of his real power, without suffering from it, and have found, in the cultivation of his estates, a satisfactory employment for those energetic faculties, which were to be proved equal to the task of commanding armies and founding a government.

"But, when the opportunity presented itself, when the exigence occurred, without effort on his part, without any surprsie on the part of others, indeed rather, as we have just seen, in conformity with their expectations the prudent planter stood forth a great man. He had, in a remarkable degree, those two qualities which, in active life, make men capable of great things. He could confide strongly in his own views, and act resolutely in conformity with them, without fearing to assume the responsibility."—*Ibid.*, pp. 59, 60.

It is plain here, that M. Guizot has seized with delicate perception the prominent traits of Washington's character. It is necessary, however, to proceed with great caution, in denying him even the qualities which strike the imaginations of men. It would, perhaps, be more accurate to affirm, that his own powers of imagination had been sternly subjected to his judgment. The history of his whole career shows, that, with scarce any display on his part of the powers of the imagination, he possessed, in an unusual degree, the power of influencing the imaginations of others. Of that mysterious magnetism of character, by which an individual from early life attracts attention, inspires confidence, and rises at once to the most arduous and responsible stations, Washington possessed a share which is seldom equalled. This may or may not consist in the display of what are called brilliant endowments. In the military career, the manifestation of personal courage is an indispensable part of the secret. The soldier must have exhibited the fearlessness of his heart in such a manner, as henceforward to put that quality beyond all doubt, or he can never reign in the hearts of others. The annals of war do not afford brighter examples of this quality, (which, though moralists affect to underrate it, claims at least the importance of an influence of the greatest power in human affairs,) than were

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exhibited by Washington in the very outset of his career. Two horses were killed under him, and his coat perforated with bullets, at Braddock's defeat. But, as personal bravery is a quality exhibited by many a soldier and officer in every campaign, so far from explaining the wonderful ascendency of Washington over the minds of other men, it becomes necessary to resort to other causes of his influence. We know not where they are to be found, if not in the perfect *proportions* of his entire character, moral and intellectual; his possession, in an eminent degree, of all the qualities which invite confidence and command respect, without any counterbalance of weaknesses or vices. If it be difficult to single out, in his composition, the individual capacities which are called brilliant, it only becomes so much the more necessary to ascribe to him a most rare and admirable union of all the higher qualities of our nature. Glowing eloquence, a fervid pen, a miraculous faculty for acquiring and applying knowledge, the irresistible contagion of enthusiasm, the captivating insinuation of manners; these may be reckoned among the chief of the brilliant qualities, which strike the imagination of men. Not wholly destitute of any of these, in none of them is Washington supposed to have excelled. How, then, in the absence of all these brilliant and fascinating endowments, do you account for that awe-inspiring character, before which levity is repressed and pretension silenced; which, seeking, desiring, neither place nor power, is forced into the possession of every office and honor which the country's institutions can confer; which, more than any other man's character has ever done, appeases malignity and unites party, and carries him triumphant through the most arduous and invidious duties?

Perhaps the single quality, which, more than any thing else, contributed to this result, was the moral quality of unsuspected disinterestedness. M. Guizot makes a just and beautiful remark on this subject;

"Men had, moreover, the most thorough conviction of his disinterestedness; that great light, to which men so willingly trust their fate; that vast power, which draws after it their hearts, while, at the same time, it gives them a sense of security as to their interests, which, they are certain, will not be surrendered, either as a sacrifice or as instruments to selfishness and ambition." — *Ibid.*

We have, on a former occasion, spoken of the harmony of

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Washington's character as the foundation of his influence, and hazarded the opinion, that the developement of any of the faculties, in a more brilliant degree, would have impaired its serene beauty. His qualities, moral and intellectual, were mingled and blended like the light of day. The developement and cultivation of single endowments, in great men of the ordinary cast, produces a sort of scenic effect, which may be compared to that of the prismatic separation of the colors. The eye is fatigued while it is delighted, and turns, for relief, to that equably diffused mixture of all the beams, which forms the cheerfulness and joy of creation.

The following remark of M. Guizot, on the character of Washington, is of uncommon depth and beauty.

"It is a privilege of great men, and often a corrupting one, to inspire affection and devotedness, without feeling them in return. This vice of greatness Washington was exempt from. He loved his associates, his officers, his army. It was not merely from a sense of justice and duty, that he sympathized in their sufferings, and took their interests into his own hands with an indefatigable zeal. He regarded them with a truly tender feeling, marked by compassion for the sufferings he had seen them endure, and by gratitude for the attachment which they had shown to him. And when, in 1783, at the close of the war, at Frances's tavern, in New York, the principal officers, at the moment of their final separation, passed in silence before him, each one pressing his hand as he went by, he was himself moved and agitated, at heart and in his countenance, to a degree that seemed hardly consistent with the firm composure of his spirit."—*Ibid.* pp. 82, 83.

We pass, of necessity, over much that is of high interest, touching the career of Washington during the progress of the war, the interval between the peace and the adoption of the Constitution, and his accession to the presidency. The following remarks, on the parties which prevailed when the Federal Constitution went into operation, will be read with the attention due to the judgments of a philosophical and unprejudiced foreigner.

"At the first glance, the names of these parties excite surprise. Federal and democratic; between these two qualities, these two tendencies, there is no real and essential difference. In Holland in the seventeenth century, in Switzerland even in

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our time, it was the democratic party which aimed at strengthening the federal union, the central government ; it was the aristocratic party which placed itself at the head of the local governments, and defended their sovereignty. The Dutch people supported William of Nassau and the Stadtholdership against John de Witt and the leading citizens of the towns. The patricians of Schweitz and Uri are the most obstinate enemies of the federal diet and of its power.

"In the course of their struggle, the American parties often received different designations. The democratic party arrogated to itself the title of republican, and bestowed on the other that of monarchists and monocrats. The federalists called their opponents anti-unionists. They mutually accused each other of tending, the one to monarchy, and the other to separation ; of wishing to destroy, the one the republic, and the other the union.

"This was either a bigoted prejudice or a party trick. Both parties were sincerely friendly to a republican form of government and the union of the States. The names, which they gave one another for the sake of mutual disparagement, were still more false, than their original denominations were imperfect and improperly opposed to each other.

"Practically, and so far as the immediate affairs of the country were concerned, they differed less, than they either said or thought, in their mutual hatred. But, in reality, there was a permanent and essential difference in their principles and their tendencies. The federal party was, at the same time, aristocratic, favorable to the preponderance of the higher classes, as well as to the power of the central government. The democratic party was, also, the local party, desiring at once the supremacy of the majority, and the almost entire independence of the State governments." — *Ibid.*

The history of the parties, which have existed in the United States since the adoption of the Constitution, is a very curious subject. It is, perhaps, too early to treat it. This task must be left to the candid inquirer in future years. The first great distinction was that of Federalists and Anti-federalists, meaning, of course, the friends and opponents of the Federal Constitution. The Constitution once adopted and made the undisputed law of the land, the term *anti-federal* lost its appropriateness as a party designation, and great changes took place in the composition of parties. Before the adoption, and pending the discussions to which it

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gave rise, the Federalists and Anti-federalists were almost equally balanced. In the Convention, held in Massachusetts, to decide the question of adopting the Constitution, the vote stood 187 yeas and 168 nays. In the Convention of Virginia, the division was 89 yeas and 79 nays; and these proportions, perhaps, obtained through the country.

After the Constitution was adopted, and with the immediate demonstration of its happy working, a new division of parties gradually arose, built, in some measure, on the preceding, but far from being identical with it. Of those who had opposed the adoption of the Constitution, multitudes became its ardent friends. Of those who favored its adoption, some, from the first, ranged themselves with those who were for giving the most limited construction to its powers, for the same reason that led them, originally, to oppose the adoption. Thus the two new parties differed, mainly, on the construction of the Constitution, in reference to such measures as the funding system, the assumption of the State debts, and the incorporation of a national bank. The name of Federalists was retained by the party who advocated a liberal construction of the fundamental law, and was considered as an honorable designation. Anti-federalism, having originally denoted opposition to the new frame of government, fell gradually into disfavor, and no other name was immediately substituted. Although the term *democratic* was, no doubt, unquestionably sometimes used, at this period, by individuals of the party, of which Mr. Jefferson was the leader, we think it would not be easy, till long afterwards (not, in fact, while he was on the stage of affairs) to find instances of its use in the authentic documents of that party. It was made intensely odious to the mass of the people by the Democratic Societies, which were founded by Genêt. Patrick Henry, in July, 1795, says, "Though a democrat myself, I like not the late democratic societies."

We believe it may be correctly stated, that, after the name of Anti-federalists was dropped as unpopular, that of *republicans* was the first denomination which was assumed by Mr. Jefferson and his friends. In his correspondence he sometimes calls his friends "the whigs"; but *republican* is the party name, which may be said to have been officially adopted; and it is a little singular, that, on both sides, there was a disposition to deny the right of the opposite party to

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the name they had thought fit to assume. Mr. Jefferson, evidently considering the name of *federalists* as an honorable one, and belonging of right to all the friends of the Constitution, in a letter to Mr. Gerry, of the 26th of January, 1799, alludes to the party, supporting the administration of President Adams, as "the Federalists, self-called"; * while General Washington, in writing to his nephew, the late Judge Washington, on the 5th of May of the same year, on the subject of changes in opinion, in Virginia, favorable to the same administration, says; "As the tide is turned, I hope it will come in with a full flow; but this will not happen, if there is any relaxation on the part of the Federalists. We are sure, there will be none on the part of the Republicans, as they have very erroneously called themselves." †

Here we understand the meaning of Washington to be, that the party, then opposed to the administration, were not warranted, by assuming the name of *republican*, to intimate, that they were the exclusive friends of republican government; and we conceive Mr. Jefferson, in designating the friends of Mr. Adams's administration as "self-called Federalists," to mean, that this name, importing, as it did, both historically and significantly, a friend to the Constitution, belonged, of right, to all of all parties that were friendly to it. Accordingly, we find him, on his accession to the presidency after a very strenuous and embittered struggle, using, in his inaugural address, this remarkable language, not less deserving of note for its philosophical accuracy, than for its personal moderation; "Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called, by different names, brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans; we are all federalists." Mr. Jefferson's meaning plainly was, that all are entitled to the name of *republican*, because all are friendly to republican government; and all are entitled to the name of *federalist*, because all are friendly to the union of the States.

It does not belong to this place to enter more minutely into the history of our parties. We will only observe, that, from the breaking out of the French revolution till the close of the war in 1814, they turned, almost wholly, upon ques-

* Jefferson's *Works*, Vol. III. p. 612.
† Washington's *Writings*, Vol. XI. p. 425.

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tions connected with the foreign relations of the country. The old controversies, as to the construction of the Constitution, lost much of their interests. On the change of place of the two parties, in 1801, the Federal party became, in practice, much less favorable to the exercise of the powers of the general government; the republican party much less jealous of the same powers. Most of the questions, which divided public opinion, were questions of expediency, as to the best method of protecting the interests of the country in the convulsed and unprecedented condition of the world. With the close of the war in 1815, these questions ceased to present themselves. New interests had sprung up. Some old controversies were, at that time, deemed to be settled by time, acquiescence, and public convenience, — such as the necessity of a national bank. The growth of the West gave rise to the question of internal improvements. The capital, which had sought investment in manufactures, during the restrictive system and the war of 1812, called for protection. The war had led to the creation of a large national debt, to the establishment of a competent military power, to the great enlargement of the navy and an entire change of sentiment on the part of those originally opposed to it, and had shown the necessity of permanent fortifications for the defence of the coast. Out of these various establishments, grew the necessity of a liberal system of public expenditure, and a larger measure of executive discretion. It was no longer possible to administer the government on the principles, upon which the opposition to the second term of President Washington's administration, and the administration of President Adams, had been conducted. Every thing, at home and abroad, looked to a fusion of the parties; and, on occasion of the elevation of Mr. Monroe to the presidency, in 1817, General Jackson took upon himself the honorable task of urging the policy of amalgamation. In his famous letter to Mr. Monroe, in anticipation of that event, he counsels him to seize the auspicious moment to exterminate "the monster, party," and, as a step calculated to promote this end, advised him to appoint a union cabinet.

It did not need these liberal counsels, even on his high authority, to produce a result, which was daily growing out of the changed state of the country, and the condition of its newly developed interests. We imagine it would appear,

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on consulting the Journals of Congress during the administrations of Mr. Monroe, that not a single question was decided in reference to former party divisions, or under the array of the old party names. The course of public men, in and out of Congress, was regulated by the views entertained by themselves and their constituents, and by the people at large in the different sections of the country, on the new questions of magnitude, which had presented themselves. With the exception of a single vote, Mr. Monroe was reëlected unanimously, a circumstance which had never occurred before since the days of Washington.

The existing organization of parties runs back to the struggles for the succession to Mr. Monroe; but this is a chapter in our political history not to be discussed in these pages.

The following judgment of M. Guizot, pronounced upon the characters of Jefferson and Hamilton, will be read with interest.

"Hamilton deserves to be ranked among those men, who have best understood the vital principles and essential conditions of government; not merely of a nominal government, but of a government worthy of its mission and of its name. In the Constitution of the United States, there is not an element of order, strength, and duration, to the introduction and adoption of which he did not powerfully contribute. Perhaps he believed the monarchical form preferable to the republican. Perhaps he sometimes had doubts of the success of the experiment attempted in his own country. Perhaps, also, carried away by his vivid imagination, and the logical vehemence of his mind, he was sometimes exclusive in his views, and exaggerated in his inferences. But, of a character as lofty as his mind, he faithfully served the republic, and labored to found, and not to weaken it. His superiority consisted in knowing, that, by a law inherent in the nature of things, power is above, at the head of society; that government should be constituted according to this law; and that every contrary system or effort brings, sooner or later, trouble and weakness into the society itself. His error consisted in adhering too closely, and with a somewhat arrogant obstinacy, to the precedents of the English constitution; in attributing, sometimes, in these precedents, the same authority to good and to evil, to principles and to the abuse of them; and in not attaching due importance to, and reposing sufficient confidence in, the variety of political forms and the flexibility of human society.

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There are occasions, in which political genius consists, in not fearing what is new, while what is eternal is respected.

"The democratic party, not the turbulent and coarse democracy of antiquity or the middle ages, but the great modern democracy, never had a more faithful or more distinguished representative, than Jefferson. A warm friend of humanity, liberty, and science; trusting in their goodness as well as their rights; deeply touched by the injustice with which the mass of mankind have been treated, and the sufferings they endure, and incessantly engaged, with an admirable disinterestedness, in remedying them or preventing their recurrence; accepting power as a dangerous necessity, almost as one evil opposed to another, exerting himself, not merely to restrain, but to lower it; distrusting all display, all personal splendor, as a tendency to usurpation; a temper, open, kind, indulgent, though ready to take up prejudices against, and feel irritated with, the enemies of his party; a mind bold, active, ingenious, inquiring, with more penetration than forecast, but with too much good sense to push things to the extreme, and capable of employing, against a pressing danger or evil, a prudence and firmness, which would perhaps have prevented it, had they been adopted earlier or more generally.

"It was not an easy task to unite these two men, and make them act, in concert, in the same cabinet. The critical state of affairs at the first adoption of the Constitution, and the impartial preponderance of Washington, alone could accomplish it. He applied himself to it with consummate perseverance and wisdom. At heart, he felt a decided preference for Hamilton and his views. 'By some,' said he, 'he is considered an ambitious man, and therefore a dangerous one. That he is ambitious, I shall readily grant, but it is of that laudable kind, which prompts a man to excel in whatever he takes in hand. He is enterprising, quick in his perceptions, and his judgment intuitively great.'* But it was only in 1798, in the freedom of his retirement, that Washington spoke so explicitly. While he was in office and between his two secretaries, he maintained towards them a strict reserve, and testified the same confidence in them. He believed them both to be sincere and able; both necessary to the country and to himself. Jefferson was to him, not only a connecting tie, a means of influence, with the popular party, which was not slow in becoming the opposition; but he made use of him in the internal administration of his government, as a counterpoise to the tendencies, and especially to the lan-

* Washington's *Writings*, Vol. XI. p. 312.

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guage, sometimes extravagant and inconsiderate, of Hamilton and his friends. He had interviews and consultations with each of them separately, upon the subjects which they were to discuss together, in order to remove or to lessen beforehand their differences of opinion. He knew how to turn the merit, and the popularity of each with his own party, to the general good of the government, even to their own mutual advantage. He skilfully availed himself of every opportunity to employ them in a common responsibility. And when a disagreement too wide, and passions too impetuous, seemed to threaten an immediate rupture, he interposed, used exhortation and entreaty, and, by his personal influence, by a frank and touching appeal to the patriotism and right-mindedness of the two rivals, he at least postponed the breaking forth of the mischief, which he could not prevent." — *Ibid.*

Our limits do not permit us to accompany M. Guizot through the residue of his discourse, embracing, as it does, some of the most interesting topics in the history of the country during the administration of Washington. Our extracts, already made, will have answered the purpose which we have proposed to ourselves, in engaging the interest of our readers for the entire discourse. A single additional passage must bring our article toward a close.

"But who has succeeded like him? Who has seen his own success so near and so soon? Who has enjoyed, to such a degree and to the last, the confidence and gratitude of his country?

"Still, at the close of his life, in the delightful and honorable retirement at Mount Vernon, which he had so longed for, this great man, serene as he was, was inwardly conscious of a slight feeling of lassitude and melancholy, a feeling very natural at the close of a long life employed in the affairs of men. Power is an oppressive burden; and mankind are reluctant to be served, when one is struggling virtuously against their passions and their errors. Even success does not efface the sad impressions which the contest has given birth to; and the exhaustion, which succeeds the struggle, is still felt in the quiet of repose.

"The distaste of the most eminent men, and of the best among the most eminent, to taking part in public affairs, in a free democratic society, is an important fact. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, all ardently sighed for retirement. It would seem as if, in this form of society, the task of government

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was too severe for men capable of comprehending its extent, and who are desirous of discharging the trust in a proper manner. Still, to such men alone this task is suited, and ought to be intrusted. Government will be, always, and everywhere, the greatest exercise of the faculties of man, and, consequently, that which requires minds of the highest order. It is for the honor, as well as for the interest, of society, that such minds should be drawn into the administration of its affairs, and retained there ; for there are no institutions, no securities, which can take their place. And, on the other hand, for men who are worthy of this destiny, all weariness, all sadness of spirit, however it might be permitted in others, is a weakness. Their vocation is labor. Their reward is, indeed, the success of their efforts, but still only in labor. Very often they die, bent under the burden, before the day of recompense arrives. Washington lived to receive it. He deserved and enjoyed both success and repose. Of all great men, he was the most virtuous and the most fortunate. In this world, God has not higher favors to bestow." — *Ibid.*

This weariness of public life, which was so early felt by Washington, and was equally expressed by Jefferson, when he retired from the Department of State, is a phenomenon worthy of the investigation of the philosopher and the patriot. Such is the greater simplicity of our forms of government, that it might be expected, that the task of administering public affairs would be proportionably easy and pleasant. Is not the effect precisely the reverse ? The natural and necessary effect of this simplicity is to give a political omnipotence to public opinion. To ascertain, to concentrate, and to guide opinion (except in calamitous times, when it is concentrated and directed by the irresistible force of events), is the difficult task of those who fill responsible stations in republican governments. There are, of course, always difficulties in wielding great organized powers. The task of the admiral of a fleet, or the commander of an army, is not light. Firm must be the heart, true the eye, steady the hand, which is to sway the thunderbolts of power. But if the commander, by sea or land, were compelled to consult the force under him, and take a vote as to every point of duty and every part of the service, his labors would immeasurably increase. While the despot rules at all, he rules with ease. He sits upon a magazine ;

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but till it explodes, he governs empires with a nod. But to carry on the affairs of a mighty confederacy, organized under republican institutions, requires a study so vast, so profound, so untiring; such a stretch of vigilance, such a versatility of attention, such a steadiness of labor; that the disinterested and conscientious are speedily exhausted.

Then comes in the ferocity of party in free States; the bitterness of detraction, which, since it spared not Washington, cannot be expected to spare any humbler name. To this unmitigated scourge of republican government, may be attributed, perhaps, more than to any other cause, the sadness and lassitude, which form the subject of M. Guizot's closing remarks. Whether there is any hope in the resources of modern civilization, that this foul spirit, which drove the ancient republics, and those of the Middle Ages, to madness, and which perpetrated the sickening horrors of the reign of terror in France, can be exorcized in our favored land, is a problem which coming ages must settle. For ourselves, we are strongly inclined to the bright side of the question. It is not possible, that Providence should destine this blessed inheritance of Christian liberty to that miserable failure, which has, in darker ages, overtaken our struggling race in its efforts to be free. We place an unshaken reliance in the ultimate triumph of goodness and truth. The diffusion of knowledge must have its natural effect of softening the hearts, while it enlightens the understandings, of men; and we are persuaded, that, though the progress of improvement, in this respect, may be subject to those vicissitudes, which belong to all human things, — though we may, at times, under the pressure of the unremedied evil, think that we have fallen on worse days than our predecessors, — yet we have an undoubting faith, that, in the long course of events, this will prove to be an error, and that a calmer and happier growth of republican freedom, than has ever before been known, is gradually ripening on our soil.

We look, for some auspicious influence on its progress, to the kind action of enlightened minds in Europe. The voice of truth is rarely spoken with greater force, than when uttered by an impartial foreigner. No small portion of the malignity of our party conflicts, at a former period, was traceable to a direct foreign agency. There can rarely be a

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motive for direct foreign interference in domestic politics; rarely a state of things when it is practicable. On the contrary, however, a generous tone of international politics, on the part of distinguished men in the three great free countries, is among the influences, which will most tend to break down, in all, the injustice of party prejudice, and redress the wrongs done by domestic factions. By this splendid eulogium on the character of Washington, M. Guizot has acquired a title to be regarded as a distinguished friend of the constitutional liberties of America. The position, to which he has been recently called, will enable him to exercise a happy influence over the public mind in England, and promote the kind feeling between that country and France, which has taken the place of the senseless animosities of other times and other institutions. Whatever has the effect, in however small a degree, to bring France, and England, and the United States, into a cordial and mutually cherished good understanding, while it promotes the domestic prosperity of each, will be powerfully operative in extending the civilization of the age, and hastening the diffusion of liberal institutions.

We cannot close this notice of M. Guizot's discourse, without saying a word of the American translation. The extracts, which we have taken from the discourse, will afford our readers a satisfactory specimen of the style in which the translation is executed. It is no easy task, to render into another language, with spirit and fidelity, a writer like M. Guizot; for, though he thinks with precision and expresses himself with clearness, (which are great aids to a translator,) he possesses the *curiosa felicitas*, in the choice of words, which can seldom be transfused. The American translator has, however, brought to his task a general intelligence; a capacity of penetrating the meaning of his author, and feeling the beauties of his style; a knowledge of the French language and a mastery of the English, which leave little to be desired.

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ART. V. — *A Gazetteer of Illinois, in Three Parts; containing a General View of the State, a General View of each County, and a Particular Description of each Town, Settlement, Stream, Prairie, Bottom, Bluff, &c., alphabetically arranged.* By J. M. PECK, A. M., Author of a "New Guide for Emigrants," &c. Second Edition. Philadelphia, 1837.

IT is a singular circumstance in the early history of this country, that, at a time when the settlements on the Atlantic were yet few and isolated, struggling for existence against penury, sickness, and the hostility of the natives, and all along their western border lay a repulsive and unexplored wilderness, the enterprise of the French should have penetrated, by the way of the northern Lakes, to the country bordering on the Mississippi, and, more than a hundred and fifty years ago, established colonies, which have existed uninterrupted to the present day. In the villages of Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, Cahokia, and their vicinity, are yet to be seen the descendants of the men, who followed La Salle, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, in his adventurous exploration of the course of the Mississippi. Here, in these regions of beauty and fertility, existed for many years, secluded from, and almost unknown to, the rest of the world, a community of as light-hearted and as mirth-loving individuals, as ever emigrated from the father land of mercurial spirits. At peace almost always with the Indians, whom they were content to defraud of their furs, without seeking to drive them from their country; basking under a genial climate, and deriving an easy subsistence from a soil fertile beyond all prior experience, the French of Illinois, for more than three quarters of a century, vegetated in colonies, which nothing but their indolence and love of ease prevented from rivalling those, in which the energy of the settlers on the Atlantic was laying the foundations of this republic.

An observer of the latter part of the seventeenth century, possessed of the most correct information with regard to this country, may well have doubted where, eventually, the strength of population would preponderate. On the one hand, the adventurers on the seaboard, though obliged to derive a support from a soil comparatively barren and unkind, and to contend

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with the undying hostility of the natives, with the most disheartening sickness and mortality, possessed the advantage of more easy access to the mother country, and greater facilities for foreign commerce. On the other, the French colonists were in possession of the two natural outlets of the West, the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence. They had ingratiated themselves, by their facility of adaptation and careless ease of manner, with the Indians. They found a climate which, whatever it may have proved to other Europeans, was to them singularly congenial, and the kindliest and most fertile soil that was ever taxed for the support of man. In addition to all these advantages, the mother country, at different times, lavished large sums of money for their assistance, and her government was, to the last degree, kind and parental.

With these lights, would not such an observer have been justified in predicting, that the *cordon* of French settlements along the Mississippi and on the borders of the Lakes would increase and tighten, till it had forced the inhabitants on the other side of the Alleghanies into the sea, or compelled them to submission? And may we not now speculate upon the probability, that, had the circumstances of the rival nations, who were contending for this part of the continent, been reversed, the result would have been very different? Had the Anglo-Saxon emigrants originally penetrated to the lakes and ascended the Mississippi, may we not presume, that their dense and thriving communities in the West would soon have ousted the Frenchmen, who might have been hunting crabs, and eating oysters, on the shores of the ocean?

As it turned out, while the descendants of the English were toiling for a subsistence on the sands of Virginia, or on the bleak hills of New England, they were acquiring, at the same time, the habits of industry, the energy of character, and the love of independence, which carried them triumphantly through the war of the Revolution; the Frenchman, on the banks of the Mississippi, was dreaming away his life, happy, so long as the village musician would "pipe for him to dance," and only caring to vary its monotony by a trading voyage, up some of the branches of the great river, among the Indians, to whom he felt no repugnance to assimilate himself in manners and indolence.

There is, nevertheless, something captivating to the imagination, in the primitive simplicity of manners, and innocent

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habits of these secluded colonists, in the refreshing contrast of their *insouciance* and easy contentment, with the busy, toiling, thriving generation which has succeeded them. Tormented by no longing for wealth, for office, or for conquest, they were content with the produce of their "common fields," and with the few foreign luxuries which their peltries (procured from the Indians) enabled them to obtain after a tedious voyage up the Mississippi. What was it to them, that the frantic ambition and insane vanity of the "grand monarque" was impoverishing and desolating their native land, and entailing bloody and ruinous wars on his imbecile successor; or that their fellow-colonists, on the borders of the St. Lawrence, or on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, were engaged in harassing conflicts with the English and Spaniards? The unpenetrated wilderness by which they were surrounded, was a barrier, which even the persevering hate of that deplorable period of universal war and violence could not surmount. And, while the demoniacal spirit, with which the discovery of the New World seems to have inspired the nations who participated in it, was displaying itself in the ferocious piracies and murders of the buccaneers of the West Indies, retaliating upon the Spaniards the cruelties which they had exercised upon the natives; in the perpetual wars between the eastern settlers and the Indians; and in the vindictive folly of the rival nations, who met in a new world (wide enough for them all) but to stain the wilderness with their blood, and to exhaust, in efforts for mutual extermination, the energy which would have been so much better expended in cultivating and peopling the country, — the sunshine of peace and happiness in this remote spot was unclouded. And, while we contemn the indolence, and laugh at the want of energy, of this unsophisticated people, we are forced to admit, that they were innocent and happy.

The first Europeans, who are known to have visited Illinois, were the French missionary Marquette and his companion Joliet, who, in the year 1673, descended the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Wisconsin to the mouth of the Arkansas, and, returning, entered the mouth of the Illinois, and explored that river to its source. La Salle was the first to establish colonies within its borders. In 1679, he led a small band of adventurers down the Illinois, and built Fort Crèvecœur, no vestige of which now remains. He returned to Canada, and revisited the country in 1683. Shortly afterwards, but pre-

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cisely when is not known, the villages of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, &c., were founded on the banks of the Mississippi. La Salle afterwards descended that river, and discovered its mouth.* His efforts, during the remainder of his life, were mainly directed to the establishment of colonies in the vicinity of his new discovery on the Gulf of Mexico, and in endeavouring to accomplish this object he lost his life.

Of the subsequent history of the French villages in Illinois, down to the period of the cession of the country to England at the treaty of Paris, in 1763, but little is known. Doubtless much information might be gleaned from papers in the possession of the French government; and it is possible, that, as the curiosity of the people of the State shall become interested in their early history, an effort will be made to procure and publish such documents. At present, we know little more, than that they flourished, as has already been stated, in peace and in obscurity. Some of the villages attained to a respectable size, but they never seem to have desired to occupy and cultivate the country, manifesting a propensity (yet to be seen in the inhabitants of their native land) for assembling together in villages. A large enclosure in the vicinity, called "the common field," in which each inhabitant had a right to a certain designated portion, furnished them with such agricultural products as they chose to raise, and the tracts which belonged in commonalty to the town (no one having an exclusive right to any part of them), were their grazing ground. One circumstance, however, proves that the colonists had advanced beyond the providing only for their own subsistence and were able to export a surplus. They had commenced sending wine of a good quality, made from the wild grapes with which the country abounded, to France. But the French government, crazed by the success of Spain in discovering the precious metals in the New World, looked mainly to this object in founding its colonies, and, dreading the effect of the rivalry of a few poor colonists, five thousand miles off, upon the vineyards of France, expressly prohibited the importation of the Illinois wine!

The capture of Fort Massac shows, that the amicable intercourse of the French with the Indians was not entirely unin-

* Respecting Hennepin's claim to the honor of discovering the mouth of the Mississippi, see *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. pp. 78–81, XLIX. pp. 258 *et seq.*

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terrupted. That fort had been erected on the Ohio river, near its mouth, and was taken by a singular stratagem. Some Indians, disguised in the skins of bears, appeared on the opposite side of the river, and imitated so successfully the motions of those animals, as to decoy the whole garrison out in pursuit of them. Another party of the savages, who had previously concealed themselves in the vicinity, took possession of the fort, and massacred all of its defenders. The name which is still given to the spot commemorates the catastrophe. But this appears to have been an isolated act of treachery, and was most probably perpetrated by some wandering band. We hear of no such difficulties with the settlements on the Mississippi.

We have already, in a previous article of the present Number, given some attention to the question what tribes of the aborigines were at this time in possession of the country.* We may further advert to the fact of the amicable intercourse of those tribes with the French, as militating against the claim of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, to the conquest of the whole country as far as the Mississippi; for the devotion of that tribe to the English and their hostility to the French are a part of their history, which is well known, and forms a singular exception to the success, with which the latter nation generally cultivated the friendship of the aborigines.

The cession of the country to England in 1763, and her subsequent occupation of it in 1765, were so distasteful to the inhabitants, that many of them crossed the river, preferring the jurisdiction of Spain, to whom France relinquished about the same time her possessions on the west side of the Mississippi, then known by the general name of Louisiana. And their dislike of the change appears to have been justified by the conduct of the new commanders, and their myrmidons; four of whom, in the short space of three years, each took pains to show to the inhabitants, the difference between the easy, parental rule of the old governors, and the arbitrary measures and insolent bearing, which so generally characterized the men, to whom England delegated her authority in the New World.

Great Britain, however, retained possession of this part of her new acquisitions but a short time. In 1778, George Rogers Clarke, at the head of a body of troops acting under

* See pp. 57 *et seq.*

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the authority of the State of Virginia, obtained possession of all the British posts on the Mississippi, as well as of Vincennes on the Wabash, accomplishing a feat, which, for the brilliancy of its conception, the hardships which were undergone, and the gallantry and perseverance with which they were overcome, may well rank among the most remarkable episodes recorded in the history of the Revolutionary war.* The importance of the acquisition and subsequent occupancy of these posts is not correctly appreciated at this day. There is no doubt but it is owing mainly to the fact of this occupancy, insisted on by our commissioners at the treaty of 1783, that Great Britain agreed to relinquish her claims to all the country north and west of the Ohio river. It was with no little surprise and mortification that we learned, at Washington, in the session of 1838–39, that the drafts of Clarke on the governor of Virginia, in favor of some of the inhabitants of this region, for sustenance furnished by them to his army, had been protested in that State, and were not yet paid by the government of the United States, to whom, since the cession of the territory by Virginia, application had been frequently made. We heard some of the most eloquent senators appealing to inattentive ears, for justice to the legal representatives of those, who, by the advancing of a few hundred dollars, enabled Clarke to maintain the little army, which conquered for this government a territory now containing nearly two millions of inhabitants. A melancholy tale was told of some of the original creditors, who, ignorant of our laws and language, had ventured across the wilderness and the mountains, to prefer their claims to the legislature of Virginia, where, wearied with delays, their small funds exhausted, they were supported several years, literally by the charity of some benevolent individuals; until the government of that State, convinced of the justice of their claims, but unable to meet them otherwise, discharged a part of the debt by a payment in slaves, horses, and tobacco.†

For many years subsequent to the Revolution, Illinois attracted but little attention. The legislature of Virginia, in 1778, organized there a county, to which they gave the name

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLIII. pp. 1 *et seq.*

† Remarks of Mr. Preston in the Senate, 22 January, 1839, on the bill for the relief of Pierre Menard, and others.

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now borne by the State, and appointed a magistrate, whom they called a Lieutenant-Governor ; and, in 1784, they ceded it, with the rest of the Northwest Territory, to the United States.

If we hear but little of Indian disturbances in that territory, it is because there were but few settlements to suffer. We do not know of any difficulties, even yet, between the Indians and French, though the village of Peoria, inhabited by the latter nation, was abandoned in 1781, from apprehensions from that quarter, which proving unfounded, the inhabitants returned, and occupied the site till 1812, when it was destroyed by Captain Craig, of the Illinois militia. But, for the ten years succeeding 1786, the Kickapoos were hostile and troublesome to the American settlers, who were principally men engaged in the Indian trade, being some of the officers and soldiers who accompanied Clarke, and, pleased with the beauty of the country, had taken up their residence there. The benefits of the ordinance of the 13th of July, 1787, extended of course to Illinois, in common with the rest of the Northwest Territory.

After Wayne's treaty with the Indians, at Greenville, in 1795, the way seemed smoothed for the advance of population ; and, in 1798, the Turkey-Hill settlement was formed in St. Clair County, opposite St. Louis. Various other small settlements, about the same time, were made in the southern part of the Territory ; among the most remarkable of which was the establishment of a convent of monks, of the order of La Trappe, in 1806, on a mound, in the American bottom, opposite St. Louis, which is known as *Monks' Hill* to this day. They remained there till 1813, when they sold their possessions and returned to France.

In the year 1800, the Northwest Territory was separated into two divisions, the most western of which, comprising what we now call the States of Indiana and Illinois, went by the general name of Indiana. Within the limits of Illinois, there were, at that time, about 3000 people. In 1809, this portion of it was divided into the territories of Indiana and Illinois ; and, in the subsequent year, Illinois contained a population of 12,282. In 1812, in pursuance of the provisions of the act, which regulated the government of the Northwest Territory, Illinois entered upon what was called the second grade of territorial government, when

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she was, for the first time, entitled to a legislature and a delegate to Congress.

This period brings us down to the time of the late war with Great Britain, and the concomitant struggles, between the citizens of the West and the Indians, along our whole northwestern frontier. In the summer following the battle of Tippecanoe (fought in October, 1811, before the declaration of war, which was not made till the 18th of June following), General Harrison, the governor of Indiana Territory, repaired to Kentucky, empowered by the war department to call upon the Governor for any portion of the contingent of the militia of that State, not in actual service, for the defence of Indiana and Illinois, and of this force he was authorized to take the command. The news of Hull's disasters at Detroit, however, changed the destination of Harrison, he having received, shortly afterwards, in compliance with the popular voice, the more important command of the army of the northwest, destined for Detroit and Malden.

The evacuation of Chicago, where Captain Heald had a very small garrison, was the inevitable result of Hull's surrender. Heald's little band was set upon, shortly after leaving the fort, on the 15th of August, 1812, by the Indians in the vicinity, who had hitherto appeared friendly, and the most of them were massacred; he himself, with his wife and lieutenant, escaping almost by miracle. This circumstance greatly alarmed the governor of the Territory, the late Ninian Edwards; and he was pertinacious in demanding troops of the government for the protection of a wide frontier, which he naturally concluded these events would leave unprotected. His efforts, however, were singularly unsuccessful. We have seen, that the general, intended to command upon that frontier, had received another appointment. Colonel Barbour's regiment of Kentucky volunteers, directed by Governor Shelby to proceed to Kaskaskia, was ordered by General Gibson, acting governor of Indiana, in the absence of Governor Harrison, to Vincennes, where a recent attack by the Indians on Fort Harrison, a post further up on the Wabash, had created great consternation. Governor Edwards's earnest intreaties prevailed upon the Secretary of War to order to his assistance Colonel R. M. Johnson's mounted regiment. But that officer had hardly started on his march,

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when orders were received at head-quarters, countermanding him, and directing him to rejoin the main army under Harrison. The Governor was thus again disappointed ; nor, as it appeared, did the disasters, which he apprehended, follow from the absence of the troops. The fact was, that the concentration of the British army in the vicinity of Detroit, drew around it, by the distribution of provisions, presents, and whisky, the more troublesome and vagrant of the different tribes ; and the gangs of desperadoes, whom the Scotchman, Dickson, had gathered from the nations on the heads of the Illinois, and from around Prairie du Chien, after loitering awhile about Chicago, to the additional alarm of Governor Edwards, went off in the same direction to the aid of Proctor and their British allies.

Governor Edwards himself, in company with Colonel Russell of Indiana, in the autumn of 1812, made an incursion to the north, at the head of about four hundred men, and destroyed and plundered a Kickapoo village on Lake Peoria, killing about twenty of the warriors who defended it. At about the same time, General Hopkins, of Indiana, at the head of about two thousand mounted riflemen, started from Vincennes, intending to join Governor Edwards, and make a general attack upon the Kickapoos ; but the blunders of their guides, and their own ignorance of the country, discouraged the party, and they returned without having approached nearer to the country than sixty or seventy miles. The capture of Prairie du Chien, in 1813, where Governor Clarke, of St. Louis, had established in the spring a small force, was a serious calamity, as it left the northern frontier of Illinois still more exposed to the depredations of the savages ; but of the petty expeditions to which it gave rise we have no details. Fort Madison, which had been built on the west bank of the Mississippi, some six or eight miles above the lower Rapids, after having successfully resisted an attack of the Indians, was abandoned as being too remote from the settlements ; and Fort Edwards was erected at the foot of the Rapids, on the Mississippi, and Fort Clarke, at the outlet of Lake Peoria, on the Illinois.* The

* McAfee's *History of the late War in the Western Country*, passim. McAfee expresses his regret, that the correspondence and papers, forwarded to him by the governor himself, arrived too late to be made use of, in compiling his history. His account of the transactions in Illinois, during the

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latter was long since destroyed, and on its site stands the flourishing town of Peoria. Fort Edwards is still standing, and overlooks the infant city of Warsaw.

Shortly after the war, public attention began to be directed decidedly towards this State. Up to this time, the settlements had been few and scattering, hardly perceptible upon the map of the southern part of the Territory, to which they were confined, the finest portion of it, in the centre and to the north, being utterly uninhabited. The act of Congress (of May, 1812,) bestowing three millions of acres, in the tract of country lying between the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, in bounties to the officers and soldiers of the late war, which has given to this region the name of the *Military Bounty Tract*, was the means of attracting attention to that quarter, while, at the same time, it seriously retarded its prosperity. The country was surveyed, and glowing accounts of its beauty and fertility were published.

Capitalists stood ready to buy of the patentees their claims to land, which was too far off for them to reach, and which, if on the spot, they had no means of cultivating. They sold their claims for a pittance ; and government parted with its land without benefiting the soldiers, and entailed, at the same time, a lasting injury upon the Bounty Tract, by placing the titles to the land in the hands of individuals residing at a distance, generally out of the knowledge of the settler, who, after ascertaining the owner of a given tract, could frequently get of him only a defective title ; while, in most of the other parts of the State, the government land offices allowed the securing of land with an indisputable title, in the simplest and easiest manner. This is only one of the many instances, which could be given of the folly of interfering, in any way, with the regular disposition of the public domain under the system as now organized ; a system, which, if not perfect, approaches perfection so nearly, that all attempts at alteration have resulted in mischief. We mean this eulogium upon the system to embrace all its parts ; and we are firmly persuaded, that any diminution or graduation of the price of the public lands, whether immediate or prospective, will be of no benefit to the settler, while it will tend to throw open the door to fraud and speculation, which has been so ef-

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war, are more meagre than of those in any other part of the Northwest. We are not aware, that any use has been made of these documents.

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fectually closed by the present system of prices and cash payments. Thus much *par parenthèse*. We return to our subject.

Among the more remarkable efforts which were made, after the war, to promote settlements in Illinois, was the attempt of Morris Birkbeck, an Englishman of property, who, in 1817, settled in Edwards County, on the Wabash. He published a small volume of letters, written principally to his friends in England, setting forth, in strong terms, his admiration of his new location; and, among other grounds for gratulation, he dwells, with no little emphasis, upon the exemption from the tythes and taxes, the payment of which, he avers, in the old country, was altogether distasteful. His death (he was drowned in attempting to ford a swollen stream) put an end to his projects. The name of *Albion*, the seat of justice for the county, is commemorative of his country. In 1819, some sea-captains established themselves in Madison County; and their neighbourhood still bears the name of the *Marine Settlement*. But it was not by the efforts of individuals, however respectable or influential, that this great State was to be peopled.

In 1818, she was admitted into the Union; and, about that time, the tide of emigration set decidedly for the new State; a tide which has known no ebb, but which has flowed on with an annually increasing current, till it has poured over her prairies a population of half a million. For a series of years following the year 1819, the roads, from the mountains of Virginia and North Carolina, and across the States of Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio, were lined with wagons, conveying emigrants and their *plunder*, who would announce, that their destination was the Sangamon country. By this name, which is now confined to a single county, was designated that remarkably fertile tract, to the south of the Illinois river, comprised in the counties of Tazewell, Sangamon, Cass, Morgan, and Greene; and, long before the land sales which took place in 1823, this region was occupied by a large population, and had many fine farms. It was a little later than this period, that the rush from New England took place; but, their attention once directed to this quarter, that shrewd people were not slow to perceive and avail themselves of its advantages; and whereas the emigrants, of whom we have just been speaking, came in their wagons,

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with their wives and families and "much cattle," it seemed as if the stages and steamboats, by lake and river, were about to discharge upon the prairies "the universal Yankee nation."

We presume, that the population of no one of the States represents so fully the different sections of the Union. In the southern parts of the State, the mass of the inhabitants are from Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In the centre, there is a pretty even mixture of people from these States with New-Englanders; and in the north the latter, including under this head settlers from New York, altogether preponderate.* We do not think, that sectional prejudices were ever very bitter. They were, to be sure, much stronger in early times than at present, and for many years the Kentucky or southern interest was decidedly in the ascendant; but that the times have changed, in this respect, we may well conclude from the fact, that, at the general election in 1838, the northern district gave nearly ten thousand more votes than both the others, comprising the middle and southern portions of the State combined. Indeed, the many beautiful villages, that are springing up in this region, partake so strongly of the New England character, that a citizen from that part of the country may feel himself at home in any part of it.

As a proof how far the growth of this portion of the State has outstripped the anticipations of the most sanguine, we will mention one circumstance, out of the many that occur to us. We had it from the lips of one of the early adventurers. He had sought the State with no other capital than his own shrewdness and capacity for labor, and, becoming dissatisfied with his original location, was about removing to a more favored spot, some forty or fifty miles further off on the frontier. When one of the fathers of the settlement he was about to leave, endeavouring to dissuade him from his project, asserted, that he would not have a neigh-

* The French population is so small, and is confined so entirely to their original villages, as hardly to be reckoned in classifying the population of the State. The very names that they bestowed, have been so strangely caricatured, that it requires no little philological acumen to trace some of them back to their origin. For instance, the *Marais d'Ogée* has become *Meredosia;* the *Mauvaise Terre* creek is the *Movistar; Chenal écarté, Snicarty; Au Kas, Okau;* and *Bon pas prairie* is cacophonized into *Bumpare*, &c. &c.

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bour in twenty years, our young adventurer, rather warmed by the spirit of opposition, than with a genuine faith in his own prophecy, boldly predicted, that, in less than that time, his new settlement would support a printing press. A little more than half the prescribed time had elapsed, when two rival establishments were printing there, each of them, that respectable vehicle of news and venom, a party newspaper ; — their respective editors hating each other as cordially, abusing each other as roundly, and deriving, from the publicity of such doings, as comfortable an assurance of importance, as though they were moving in an older and a wider sphere ; and the prophetic adventurer could, from his spacious mansion, in the midst of his own domains, overlook a city of nearly three thousand inhabitants.

The progress of the whole northern part of the State was simultaneous. It seemed as though nothing could check it. Were the times at the East prosperous, hundreds, who had acquired a small property, came here to secure and enlarge it, while capitalists were anxious to invest their money where they were taught to look for an increase, more rapid than cent per cent. Were times *hard*, still more rushed to the West, to save the remnants of their fortunes, or to reëstablish themselves and their families in a country too new to have felt the reverses of the times.

A few years before the period of which we have just been speaking, many of the inhabitants, on the Ohio, had acquired a reputation, altogether unenviable, for lawlessness ; which gave to the whole population around them a character scarcely merited by the community at large. " The cave in the rock," was not the only receptacle for outlaws in that neighbourhood. The vicinity of the Mississippi, and the ease with which they could escape to the rough and uninhabited country opposite, both in Missouri and Kentucky, made the tier of counties, on the Ohio river, a favorite resort for several desperate gangs of counterfeiters and horse-thieves. It was to rid themselves of these desperadoes, that the inhabitants resorted to a measure, always at variance with the principles of civilized governments, and ever liable to the worst abuse ; we allude to the operations of the *regulators*, as they were then called ; whose proceedings, under the name of *Lynch Law*, have of late become painfully familiar to the public ear.

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A plea, ever ready on such occasions, of the urgency of the case, and the inefficacy of the laws, could, to be sure, be urged here with some show of plausibility. But the outrages, perpetrated under its sanction, were not less flagrant, and their influence upon the character of the people not less evil, than they have been and ever will be, wherever carried on, and by whatever authority upheld. A troublesome or a vicious neighbour was, to be sure, often banished from the settlement; but the violence, by which it was accomplished, left a stain upon the community not easily effaced, and held out no inducements to peaceful and orderly emigrants to venture where what should be the penalties of the law were so freely inflicted without its sanction. A mistaken infliction of punishment, during which the leader of one of these bands was killed by the aggrieved party, tended as much, perhaps, as any other circumstance, to bring the whole system into disrepute; and, for many years, the administration of the law has been as regular here as in any part of the State.

Of the primitive dispensation of justice, during the transition-state, just as the administration of regularly appointed dispensers of law had succeeded to the discipline of the *regulators*, many curious particulars could be gathered. A citizen of the State, afterwards distinguished in its councils, and well known for his eccentricity of character, used to relate the following instance, which fell under his own observation. Hearing a disturbance, about bed-time, in the streets of a small town, where he was stopping for the night, he went out, and ascertained, that it was occasioned by the arrest of a peripatetic philosopher, whose ideas about the rights of property had become confused, and who, while under the influence of the hallucination, had opened the strong box of one of the inhabitants, and abstracted from it certain valuable contents. It happened, that the magistrate, before whom he was taken, was not, whatever may have been his other qualifications, "learned in the law"; and, moreover, he had never before had occasion to try his hand upon a culprit. He had provided himself, however, with a copy of the statutes, and, as the evil star of the present offender ordered, had opened at the chapter, affixing the pains and penalties to various crimes and misdemeanors. Finding that, to those guilty of offences such as the one in question,

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had been meted out a certain number of stripes upon the back,* our worthy magistrate, totally overlooking the necessity of the preliminary steps of committal, trial, and conviction, simply observing, that there appeared no doubt of the prisoner's guilt (the *corpus delicti*, in the shape of a bag of dollars, being found in his possession), read to him the sentence of the court in the words of the statute, and ordered the constable, forthwith, to see it carried into execution; a mandate which that functionary lost no time in obeying, a neighbouring thicket furnishing the appliances. And long before daylight the soundly-cudgelled, if not penitent, thief was pursuing his course down the river, not caring, we may well suppose, again to infringe the laws, where their penalties were so promptly administered.

A circumstance not to be omitted, in the history of Illinois, though our limits will allow but a cursory notice of it, is the chartering of the old State bank, at the session of 1820–21. The radical defect in the charter of this bank was, that the State was the sole stockholder, and upon its credit the notes of the bank were issued. Loans, exceeding the amount of one hundred dollars, were required to be secured upon real estate. All experience has shown, that such connexion of the financial affairs of a State with banking operations must fail to secure public confidence. The notes of the Bank of Illinois, representing nothing but the credit of a new and very remote State, failed at once of acquiring any distant circulation, and rapidly depreciated in value even at home, where they sunk as low as fifty cents on the dollar, and but that they were received in payment of taxes, must ultimately have become entirely valueless. The legislature, however, very prudently resolved, that one class of the community, at all events, should not be sufferers by this depreciation; for, at the session of 1822–3, they enacted, that the pay of the Speaker of each house, which, up to that time, had been five dollars, should be increased to nine dollars per diem; while each member of the legislature, whose allowance had been three dollars and fifty cents, was allowed to fix the amount of his own compensa-

* This mode of punishment was much in vogue in early times, when jails were not so abundant as hickory saplings, and a diligent application of the one was thought, perhaps, to be as efficacious as incarceration in the other.

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tion, by handing in a written rescript at the clerk's table, provided he did not estimate his services at a higher rate than seven dollars per diem; and the rate of mileage, which had stood at three dollars and fifty cents for twenty miles, was advanced to seven dollars. Their provident care, however, ceased with these provisions; for we do not learn, that the salaries of the officers of government received any addition; and a judge of the Supreme Court, for example, found his allowance of six hundred dollars per annum juggled down to three by the inverted alchemy of this financial operation. As brighter times began to dawn, this paper was gradually called in, and it has long since, all of it, been redeemed and destroyed.

In 1826, the miners, who were digging lead ore, in the northwest part of the State, upon land which the Indians contended that they had never ceded, were alarmed by hostile demonstrations on the part of the Winnebagoes. A chief, called Red Bird, and his band, killed one white man; and a keel-boat, descending the Mississippi, was fired upon, without, however, any injury being done to the crew. A small force of United States troops, sufficient to quell this petty disturbance (dignified, in the language of the miners, by the name of "the Winnebago War"), took into custody the murderers. The agreement of 1828, made by Governor Cass and Pierre Menard at Green Bay, and the treaty afterwards concluded at Prairie du Chien, in 1829, by Messrs. Menard, Atwater, and General McNeil, resulted in the purchase of the claims of the Chippeways, Ottawas, Potowotamies, and Winnebagoes, to the tract of country, extending, on the east side of the Mississippi, from the upper end of Rock Island to the mouth of the Wisconsin.

In the year 1831, the disturbance broke out, commonly known as the "Black-Hawk War." In the long list of wrongs and oppressions, endured by the Indians at the hands of the whites, we know of none less defensible in its origin, or less creditable in its progress, than this. A more wanton disregard of Indian rights, we do believe, was never manifested, than in the steps which gave rise to it; more detestable poltroonery, or more cruel injustice, has seldom been seen, than marked its advance and termination; and the same reckless expenditure of public money and waste of property, which seem inevitably to characterize similar trans-

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actions everywhere else, signalized this. A few words will suffice to explain the grounds, and to give the history, of this transaction, and to show, whether the censure we have bestowed be merited.

By the treaty of 1804, made at St. Louis, the Sac and Fox Indians sold to the United States a large tract of country on both sides of the Mississippi river, including the country which was the scene of this war; but, inasmuch as the nation was but a handful even then, a stipulation in the same treaty allowed them the privilege of "*living* and hunting on these lands." Under the sanction of this stipulation, Black Hawk and his party, commonly known as "the British band," had continued to occupy their village, at the mouth of Rock River, and to cultivate their fields, which were unusually large and productive. While thus living, under the solemn sanction of this treaty, without any warning given, or any complaint made of intrusion or trouble, — for they were notoriously peaceable, and the white settlements had not yet advanced within fifty miles, — orders were suddenly given for selling a few detached sections of land on Rock River, the most valuable of which were covered by their lodges and cornfields. Immediately after their sale, thus made, without the knowledge of Black Hawk, the whites commenced taking possession, and the Indians found themselves intruded upon, their fields and lodges sometimes occupied, and occasionally destroyed. But, even under these circumstances, they committed no act of hostility; they even made no effort to resist aggression, but remained, with a dogged resolution not to quit their houses and the graves of their fathers, till they were forcibly expelled. But this was, it seems, enough to excite the apprehensions of the State authorities. The governor wrote forthwith to the Indian agent at St. Louis, and to the major-general at Jefferson Barracks, informing them, in mock heroics, that the State was invaded by blood-thirsty savages, that he had ordered out seven hundred of the militia of the State (a force, by the way, fully double the number of fighting men in Black Hawk's band), and that he was determined to put them, dead or alive, on the west side of the Mississippi. Receiving information, that companies of regular troops were on their way to the scene of disturbance, he put himself at the head of the militia thus ordered out, determined to coöperate with the

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United States troops in expelling this murderous band, who were, all the while, peaceably occupied in their village, raising the usual crops. For it must be borne in mind, that, throughout the whole of this campaign, the Indians were guilty of no act of aggression, if we except from this general policy of non-resistance, a single deed of Black Hawk, who, with a few of his men, at the imminent risk of producing collision and bloodshed, went to a cabin, and rolled out and destroyed a barrel of whisky which a white man was selling.

Not the least singular feature in this business, and it is one not to be passed over in its history, is, that Black Hawk had offered, and his offer was duly reported to the agent in St. Louis, for six thousand dollars, to relinquish, for himself and his tribe, all claim to a right of residence on the east side of the Mississippi. Thus, for the paltry sum of six thousand dollars, less by far than the value of their possessions at the village, the United States had an opportunity of purchasing of the Sacs their relinquishment, not only of the village in dispute, but of their reserved right, under the treaty of 1804, of living and hunting anywhere in the whole country ceded by that treaty. His offer was rejected. The militia and regulars united, a short distance below Rock Island, and advanced, the regulars by water, the militia by land, upon the village. The Indians made no show of resistance. They had retired across the Mississippi ; their town was occupied by the troops ; their cabins were burned, and their cornfields destroyed. We have heard more than one eyewitness describe the neatness of their houses, the flourishing appearance of their fields, the richness and beauty of their blue grass pastures, and the wanton destruction wrought upon them in a few hours. General Gaines, shortly afterwards, concluded with them one of those transactions, which are pleasantly enough, in our histories and by our government, nicknamed *treaties*, wherein they consented, not being able to help themselves, to abandon this much-loved spot, and confine themselves to the west bank of the Mississippi. Thus, the campaign of this season, though it commenced in injustice, and terminated in oppression, closed without bloodshed. Blood, however, was destined to flow before the struggle was finally closed.

For the proceedings of Black Hawk the next season,

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in 1832, we have never been able satisfactorily to account. He was dissatisfied with the compulsory treaty, which forced him to remain and starve (his crops of corn and beans having been destroyed) on the west of the Mississippi. But with a mere handful of men (for the feeble efforts he made to procure the aid of other tribes entirely failed), in a country so open, presenting no impenetrable thickets nor any impassable swamps to shelter him from the pursuit of the overwhelming force which he must have known would swarm around him, to have attempted a hostile invasion would seem to indicate the last writhings of imbecile despair. In fact, though he recrossed the Mississippi, and ascended Rock River, contrary to his agreement in the hard bargain forced upon him the past season, yet, as his band was accompanied by their women and children, and as they committed, until attacked, no overt act of hostility, we may conclude, that the statement, made by himself and his fellow-chiefs, is true; that they hoped, by their pertinacious adherence to the territory, which they considered had been most unjustly wrung from them, to manifest the sense of the wrong, and perhaps prevail upon our government to give them some compensation for their property, which had been destroyed. Or, at any rate, they thought they would be allowed to join a band of Winnebagoes on the head waters of the Illinois, and raise with them a crop of corn.

Certain it is, that, even at this late day, it would have been extremely easy to quiet the disturbance, by the payment of their just demands, and by the exercise of a little forbearance. And let it not be said, that, having violated their agreements and invaded our territory, it was beneath the dignity of the nation to treat with them until after unconditional submission. Considering their wrongs and their utter insignificance in point of strength, it is nothing less than farcical, to talk of maintaining the dignity of the government. It might answer the purpose of patriots aspiring to popularity, of demagogues seeking office, or of adventurers craving excitement, to talk loudly of the invasion of our territory, and the necessity of punishing the intruders. But the nation would have been saved an additional stain upon its character, a wanton waste of blood, and expenditure of money, if the dictates of magnanimity, of humanity, and of justice, had been listened to, and this poor, deluded band of half-starved

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savages had been counselled with, their demands listened to, and a trifle, in money and food, given them, to procure their removal across the Mississippi. We have no intention of going into the details of this campaign. Our limits will not allow it, and the transactions are too recent, some of them too discreditable, to be spoken of with the coolness and impartiality of history.* We can only state, that, after chasing the fugitive band over the northern part of the State, utterly refusing, at all times, to receive their flags of truce (of which several were sent to beg a conference, and which were, constantly, either fired upon, or otherwise maltreated), the united forces, regulars and militia, at the battle of the *Bad Axe*, drove them literally into the Mississippi, shooting, destroying, and *scalping*, without mercy or remorse.

Of the spirit, which animated some of the leaders in these affairs, we may judge from the fact, that the commander-in-chief of the militia in this campaign had, during the previous season, while commanding a company of pioneers, given his men orders to kill, without ceremony, any Indian who might approach them, no matter what might be his tribe, or what his errand, with or without a white flag.

Black Hawk was taken. The campaign was ended. Fairly-worded and grandiloquent reports were forwarded to the proper departments. The high officers met in treaty with the captive Indians, and six millions of acres of fertile land, on the west of the Mississippi, were added to the domain of the United States. In due time the Secretary of War transmitted his own and the President's approval of these transactions, and there the matter rests.

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* For instance, the affair known as *Stillman's Defeat*, or *Stillman's Race;* where a large body of mounted riflemen fled, panic struck, before less than one fourth of their number of Indians, who, when the rangers came in sight, had no intention of fighting, and had actually sent to them a flag of truce, requesting a conference. The bearers of the flag, after being taken prisoners, were fired upon, and one of their number killed. Afterwards, when a part of the main body of the Indians, (not exceeding forty or fifty, their own number being two hundred and seventy-five,) came in sight, the whole detachment took to flight, leaving those of their number, whose horses were not of the fleetest, to the mercy of the Indians; who, enraged at their treachery, and encouraged by their poltroonery, butchered some ten or a dozen, while the officers and men vied in their efforts to reach the camp of the main army, at some thirty miles' distance; a space, which the best mounted overcame at a speed which would have won them renown at a steeple chase. But there is no incentive to speed like the pursuit of fierce and vindictive savages.

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The tragedy was followed by a farce. Black Hawk and some of his fellow-chiefs, after having been ignominiously and cruelly loaded with chains, were all at once set at liberty, and paraded in a progress, which soon became triumphal, through the Eastern States. They were the lions of the day; all, even the ladies, vieing for the honor of a notice from him and his handsome son. We cannot dismiss the subject, without expressing our inability to understand the policy which dictated the show, or our astonishment at the taste, which made it the vogue.

Black Hawk sleeps in death, but not with his fathers. A city is growing up over their graves, where soon no vestige will remain of what was once the favored residence and the burial-ground of this luckless tribe. We are tempted to repeat the exclamation of the most patient of men, "O that mine enemy had written a book!" Could this untutored son of the forest have committed his thoughts and his experience to paper, he might have left behind him a valuable legacy, in which our people could read a lesson, unpalatable but wholesome, of broken faith, of cowardice, of usurpation, and of wanton aggression, which might moderate, occasionally, our self-gratulation and complacency.*

It is hardly in the nature of things, that hostile Indians should ever again invade the territory of Illinois; for, since these events, she has ceased to be a frontier State. The tide of emigration has rolled onward, bearing before it the relics of the Indian tribes, who would now have to penetrate, before they could reach her borders, a country as large, and as thickly peopled, as was Illinois in 1832.

The State of Illinois, whose history we have thus briefly sketched, is bounded on the north by the Territory of Wisconsin; east by Lake Michigan, and the States of Indiana and Kentucky; south by the latter State; and west by the State of Missouri, and the Territory of Iowa. It extends north and south from 37° to 42° 30′ north latitude, and east and west from 10° 32′ to 14° 33′ longitude west from Washington city. Its extreme length is three hundred and

* See *The Life and Adventures of Black Hawk, with Sketches of Keokuck, the Sac and Fox Indians, and the late Black-Hawk War*, by [Benjamin Drake. Cincinnati. 1839; a work, which, for the soundness of its principles, and the independence with which they are expressed, deserves a better dress than the publisher has given it.

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eighty miles ; its breadth in the north is about one hundred and forty-five miles, but extends in the centre to two hundred and twenty miles, whence it contracts towards the south to a narrow point. The area of the whole State, including that part of Lake Michigan belonging to it, is about fifty-nine thousand square miles, of which fifty thousand square miles, or thirty-two millions of acres, are considered to be capable of cultivation.

A glance at the maps of the United States will show, that, though placed in the very heart of the interior, no State in the Union has such facilities for navigation around and through it. This will be more clearly perceived, when it is known, that of eleven hundred and sixty miles, which is the extent of the circumference of the State, eight hundred and fifty-five miles are navigable waters. It is penetrated, besides, by rivers allowing a steamboat navigation of five hundred miles. Most of these waters afford the best and most permanent navigation in the West. It is only necessary to mention the Mississippi, with a depth and volume of water enough to float the commerce of the world ; but there is besides, the Ohio, which, for nearly the whole space in which it washes the shores of Illinois, affords some months more of navigation, than it offers to the States nearer to its sources. The Wabash on the east, and the Illinois river in the centre, can either of them, but more especially the latter, boast of a navigation as easy, as safe, and as permanent, as the Ohio itself. And Lake Michigan, on the northeast, enables it to participate in the advantages of the northern outlet.

We very much doubt whether a spot can be found on the globe, remote from the ocean, furnishing any thing like the same amount of natural commercial advantages. When it is considered, in addition, that its position is between the 37th and 43d degree of north latitude, the climate best adapted for developing the energies, and most favorable to the constitution, of man, and that its soil is of unsurpassed and inexhaustible fertility, nothing would seem to be wanting but a wise and virtuous government, to fill it with a population dense, affluent, and happy. The destinies of the State are in the hands of its inhabitants.

The prairies constitute the most striking feature in the appearance of Illinois. Few of our readers but have read (many of them, perhaps, *usque ad nauseam*) accounts, varied accord-

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ing to the ingenuity of the writers, of these magnificent natural lawns ; but we can assure those who may never have looked upon them for themselves, that they can form no idea of the feelings, with which they would probably contemplate for the first time the unique and placid beauties of a prairie landscape. It is not our intention to enter the lists ourselves with an attempt to indite any thing like a description. We lately heard a great statesman, whose intercourse with, and mastery over, men had not blunted his perception of the beauties of nature, sum up his admiration of these scenes (whence he had recently returned) by declaring, that he had never beheld any thing, which so completely realized his conceptions of beauty and fertility.

It has been thought, however, that these same prairies, how much soever they may add to the beauty of the landscape, and notwithstanding the richness of their soil, are serious impediments to the settlement of the country. Ten years ago, this objection was urged much more zealously than at present ; for, in that space of time, many a prairie has been converted into farms, upon which the doubters of early times predicted that no settler would ever venture ; and in ten years more, that such an objection ever existed will be matter of tradition. In fact, a simple calculation would always have shown that it is cheaper, in the proportion of three to one, to transport fencing timber five miles (which is the utmost distance, that in nine-tenths of the prairies would be necessary), than to clear the heavily timbered land of most of the other Western States ; while the coal, with which the whole State abounds, precludes all apprehension from scarcity of fuel. We here leave out of view, what is nevertheless a well known fact, that the timber is increasing faster than the population. The precautions, taken by the settlers against fires, enable the undergrowth, which annual burnings had kept down, to grow and extend ; and, in fact, the rapid and pertinacious growth of some of the less valuable kinds of timber becomes frequently a nuisance, against which the farmer has to contend. If the sod of a piece of prairie be turned up, and it be not afterwards cultivated (we speak from actual observation), a few years will see a growth of thrifty young timber covering the spot, whose seeds the tough sward and the fires had prevented from vegetating.

In the discussion as to the origin of these prairies, we have no desire to participate, believing, that, though much has been

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written, little is known about it. Whether, as some have contended, the whole continent was originally one vast prairie, upon which our lofty and apparently primeval forests are intruders; or whether the autumnal fires have deprived these plains of the wood with which they were originally covered, are questions upon which we will not venture to decide, being willing, after the example of Sir Roger, to allow, that "much may be said on both sides." They form by far the larger part of the surface of the State, and are of every variety of size, from twenty miles to half a mile in diameter, being much larger and more abundant in the north and middle, than in the southern parts of the State. Their surface is hardly ever flat, excepting in the *bottoms*, and seldom too undulating for cultivation.

The soil of Illinois is based upon the same secondary limestone formation, that underlies a great part of what is commonly called the Mississippi valley. Though never seen on the surface proper, it lies sufficiently near to be exposed by the action of the streams, to the vicinity of which the inhabitants have recourse for stone.

The bottom lands, created, so to speak, by the streams of the West, generally form a striking feature in the face of the country. In proportion to the size of the stream, is in general the extent of these alluvial deposits. Of their importance, in an estimate of the varieties of soil in this State, we may form some opinion from the facts, that there is no stream that is not skirted in this manner; and that the larger rivers, the Mississippi, the Illinois, the Kaskaskia, and the Wabash, have alluvions on their borders of from one to eight miles in width, much of which is now fit for cultivation, and all of which will be made so, whenever the value of the land will justify the expense of a very moderate amount of embankment. The soil, we need hardly add, is of exuberant fertility.

The most remarkable tract of this description is the *American Bottom*, opposite St. Louis, a name which it received when it formed the western boundary of the United States. This extends from the mouth of the Kaskaskia to a point opposite the mouth of the Missouri, a space of more than eighty miles, containing two hundred and eight-eight thousand acres. It was to this beautiful and fertile spot, that the early French settlers first resorted. Here they established all their villages.

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Whether the miasmata, from the swamps and lagoons with which the bottom abounds, and which are regularly filled with water at every rise of the Mississippi, and then left to stagnate and corrupt, with the rank vegetation that fringes and covers them, ever produced among the French people the same diseases with which they afflict the emigrants of all other nations, we have no means of ascertaining. Certain it is, that, at present, the exemption of the French from intermittent fevers and agues is entire and enviable. And, could we suppose the honest-hearted creole capable of so selfish or unkind a feeling, we have often fancied, that he might laugh with great contentment, as he smoked his short pipe and ate his gumbo, in defiance of the noxious effluvia, which had prostrated three-fourths of all the strangers who had ventured into his neighbourhood.

It has been, unfortunately, too much the case, not only in this State, but throughout the West, that emigrants, seduced by the exuberant fertility of these wide alluvions, have so often selected them for their residence; and the diseases, which almost invariably punish this deviation from the rules of prudence and common sense, have given to the country at large a reputation for insalubrity, which, we are persuaded, it would never have acquired, had the early settlers consulted less their cupidity, than their health, in making settlements.

As a proof of the durability, as well as fertility, of these soils, we may mention, that fields around Kaskaskia have been planted, since the first settlement of the place (without intermission, and without manure), with Indian corn, one of the most exhausting of crops, without any perceptible diminution in the product.* As there are none of these bottoms but may be drained of the stagnant water, which is now the whole cause of their sickliness, the time will come, when their natural advantages, among which we must not forget their proximity to navigation, will cause them to be covered with a denser population than any other part of the West. Neither do we speak altogether in this matter, without the advantage of precedent. Cincinnati is now no-

* "Sir, to leave things out of a book, merely because people tell you they will not be believed, is meanness." — *Dr. Johnson*, as reported by Boswell. Encouraged by this *dictum*, we will state, and are prepared to prove, that parsnips have been taken from the ground, in a garden in Kaskaskia, six feet in length!

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toriously one of the healthiest cities on our continent; yet we have it on the authority of one of her oldest citizens (who may truly say, *Pars magna fui*, as to all the wonderful changes which have passed around him), that the swamps and frog-ponds around old Fort Washington filled the chambers and lofts of the then petty village with an abundance of feverish and shaking sufferers.* The bluffs, which skirt these low-lands, generally abound in springs, and they are, consequently, better watered, than most other parts of the State.

The character of the uplands, which form, of course, the great body of the State, varies astonishingly little. A small section of country in the south is rough and hilly; other portions, in the north, are flat and boggy; but, as a whole, the country may be said to be gently undulating; the highest and smoothest land being in the centre of the prairies, from whence there is a gradual fall to the rougher timbered lands, which almost invariably skirt the streams. As these prairies are most easily brought under cultivation, so are they generally the richest land; the soil upon them varying in depth from one to four feet. This soil indicates, by its color, the fertility for which it has become proverbial. It is a black and friable mould, freely intermixed with sand, and is exceedingly easy to work, or, in agricultural phrase, *kindly*. A soil so loose, that one horse will suffice to draw the plough through it; which crumbles to pieces as it is turned over; in which no stone is ever encountered to impede the plough, or jar the ploughman, needs only the crowning glory of the *lætæ segetes*, which will wave over it in due season, to realize all that can be asked of a "land of promise." It has as yet, in no instance that we have seen, given evidence of impoverishment from use or abuse. Whenever manure shall be needed (and we are not prepared to say, but that it would, even now, pay the farmer for applying it), lime, which is everywhere easily attainable, will be found most efficacious.

The whole face of the country is covered with a luxuriant growth of natural grass, which, though nutritious, and abundantly serviceable to the early settlers, can never be depended upon for permanent use. It is late in coming forward in the spring, and the first frosts of autumn destroy its sub-

* Judge Burnet's *Letters*. Historical Society of Ohio.

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stance, and reduce it to a harsh and combustible straw. A very moderate amount of pasturing, moreover, utterly eradicates it. Artificial grasses have, however, succeeded entirely, wherever their cultivation has been attempted.

We believe, that the prevalent opinion of the height and vigor of this prairie grass is altogether exaggerated. The public imagination, following the lead of certain fanciful writers, has pictured the wide plains, covered with a growth so rank and lofty, that the foot traveller can only see far ahead, by attaining some casual eminence; and we read of animals destroyed by, and horsemen escaping but by dint of speed from, the fierce conflagration, which annually sweeps, with the wings of the wind, over so vast a mass of combustibles. Now we are satisfied, that the average height of the grass on the upland prairies, does not exceed twelve inches, and the fires, which annually consume it, though sufficiently destructive to the timber and to unprotected fences, stacks, and cornfields, destroy or endanger no animal more active than the snake,* numbers of which, but not more than can be well spared, thus perish. It is only in the wet prairie bottoms, which are seldom traversed, and of no great extent, that the grass attains a height sufficient to produce such consequences as we have alluded to.

No geological survey of this State has ever been undertaken, but, in the absence of any regular or scientific investigation, a vast deal of volunteer hypothesis has been hazarded. "The cosmogony, or creation of the world," which was an enigma to the renowned Mr. Ephraim Jenkinson and his host of philosophers, has addled many a brain since his time; and recent geological discoveries have been so surprising as to justify almost any extravagance of conjecture.

* Not wishing to bring down upon our heads the wrath of any naturalist who may chance to read this article, and wonder, what peculiarity of constitution enables the snakes of Illinois to wander upon the face of the earth so late in the season, as after the frost has destroyed vegetation, while their *congeners*, in other parts, are immured in dens and caves deep and dark below it, we may as well state, that it is customary, in many neighbourhoods, to keep, as far as possible, the fire out from the prairies, during the fall and winter; and, after the young grass has attained a height of some three or four inches, generally in May or June, they set fire to the decayed herbage, consuming, at the same time, the new crop, which is succeeded, late in the season, by a growth fresher, and more palatable to stock. It is in these burnings, that the snakes are sometimes destroyed.

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Hardly any traveller laying the least claim to scientific acquirement has ever visited the State, but he has treated us to a theory of his own. Many have fancied, that they perceived evidences throughout the State, of comparatively recent submersion, and more than one outlet, by which the imaginary lake has discharged itself, is pointed out. This theory, we doubt not, will share the fate of most others, based upon casual observation, or derived from detached appearances, however plausible. It is impossible to suppose for a moment, that this State, or any part of it, was ever the scene of an inundation, which did not extend to all the contiguous territory. No continuous range of high land exists which could have formed the shores, necessary to contain the waters even of an hypothetical lake.

In the summer of 1839, however, Drs. David D. Owen and John Locke, under the authority of a resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States, of the preceding February, made a geological survey of the mineral lands owned by the United States on the waters of the Upper Mississippi; and though but a small part of the State of Illinois came within the strict purview of their investigations, yet a general knowledge of the formation of the State was obtained; and when their report, which is now in the hands of the proper authorities at Washington, shall be published, we are authorized to say, that much valuable information will be found on this subject. In fact, the well-known and justly merited reputation of these gentlemen will impart a value and an authority to their observations upon this interesting region, — hitherto a *terra incognita*, — which we hope will have its due weight in quickening their publication. In the mean time, we are permitted to state, that the great coal basin, of which Illinois covers the centre, underlies the soil of portions of five of the States and Territories, to wit, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa, and embraces a greater space than the whole island of Great Britain. In crossing the State from Louisville to St. Louis, it first shows itself on the surface at the town of Paoli, in Indiana. It *outcrops* again near the Upper Rapids of the Mississippi, its axis perhaps being considerably southeast of the centre of the State. The coal is found in a coarse sandstone and limestone formation, superincumbent upon an oolitic limestone, which is the principal building stone of the State, and

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which again rests, at its western edge, upon a layer of fine-grained sandstone, upon another of black slate, over which the Ohio river precipitates itself at Louisville, but which two last strata, as they do not show themselves on the other edge of the basin, on the banks of the Mississippi, most probably terminate and are merged in the great stratum of cliff limestone, which dipping from Louisville, underlies the whole, and shows itself again in the mineral region of the Northwest, of the thickness of six hundred feet, and is the matrix in which the veins of lead are deposited, or injected. All these formations are superincumbent upon, and of course more recent, than the blue fossiliferous limestone, of the southwestern part of Ohio. The coal of this basin is pronounced by the same competent authority, to be too freely impregnated with pyrites, and for that reason is much inferior for the working of iron, and other manufacturing purposes, to the coal of the great basin of Ohio and Western Pennsylvania.* Those singular boulders of granite, which are found throughout the West, are frequently seen on the surface in this State. They are of all sizes, from a few pounds to as many tons, and their structure is so hard, that they are often wrought into mill-stones.

Among the mineral productions, which the slight investigation to which the soil has as yet been subjected has brought to light, are lime, coal, lead, salt, iron, and perhaps copper, and silver; rating in abundance in the order in which we have enumerated them. Lime of course must be plenty, and easily made, as the whole State rests upon a bed of limestone. Coal we believe to be dispersed throughout the State. We never remember to have made inquiry anywhere, without learning that it was found in the neighbourhood. It

* Professor Hitchcock, in his resurvey of the geology of Massachusetts, gives the following as the result of his analysis of some specimens which had been sent to him, of soils from Illinois.

Places whence taken.	Soluble Geine.	Insoluble Geine.	Sulphate of Lime.	Phosphate of Lime.	Carbonate of Lime.	Granitic Sand.	Water of Absorption.
Rushville, . .	7.4	2.5	3.4	.6	1.5	84.6	6.3
Sangamon Co. .	4.9	5.6	1.2	.4	1.3	86.6	6.3
La Salle Co. .	7.6	13.8	1.4	.4	3.3	73.5	9.5
Peoria Co. . .	3.1	4.8	3.5	1.0	——	87.6	5.7

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is of vast importance in a country where fuel is so scarce, not only for domestic use, but for generating steam, which, from the general scarcity of water power, must become the principal manufacturing agent.

The great northwestern deposit of lead extends as far south into the State, as the waters of Rock River; and Galena, the great mart of this mineral, is barely within its borders. It is found also in the hilly country to the south, bordering on the Ohio River, where it is a continuation of the same deposit that is found on the west side of the Mississippi, in the southern counties of Missouri. The salt springs in Gallatin and Vermillion counties, which had been reserved from sale, were given up by the United States to Illinois, upon its admission into the Union. According to Mr. Schoolcraft, three hundred gallons of water produce fifty pounds of salt. They fall very far short of supplying the wants of the State, nor has the salt hitherto been esteemed of a very good quality; owing, probably, to some defect in the mode of preparation. Neither iron, silver, nor copper, whatever there may be of either, has, we believe, been worked, unless an exception be made as to silver, on the strength of a statement,* that a portion of it was found many years ago, and converted into *counterfeit* dollars, — a piece of information we see no reason to doubt, but that the accompanying assertion, that they "were purer than the Spanish dollars," seems to presuppose in those concerned a *penchant* for felony altogether unaccountable, except upon the supposition that the force of habit in the early citizens of the region where it was found was so strong, that they were unwilling to dispose even of an ingot of silver, without imparting to the transaction the relish of an affair in their ordinary way of business, and giving to the pure metal a "counterfeit presentment."

In a country so level, where there are no ridges of mountains, nor hardly any thing approaching the dignity of a hill, not much can be expected in the way of the more striking curiosities in nature. Precipices and ravines must be looked for in regions whose broken surface offers more diversity to the eye, and fewer attractions to the husbandman. Whatever there may be of either is confined to the river bluffs. The precipitous rocks which in some places line the shores of the

* *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, Vol. I. p. 45.

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Mississippi, though striking and picturesque, are not sufficiently lofty to lay any claim to the magnificent or terrific. Their perpendicular height is less than a third of the Palisades upon the Hudson. The "Starved Rock," on the Illinois, and the tale of Indian warfare, whence it takes its name; the "Grand Tower," and its opposite promontory, with their reminiscences of plundered boats and murdered crews; the cave in the rock on the Ohio, and the legends of pirates and counterfeiters, who made it their place of refuge; and the tradition of the Piasa, and the rude painting on the rocks, above Alton, now fast fading away, by which the Indians endeavoured to commemorate it; are among the few remarkable spots to which the attention of the stranger is directed.

Until we are in possession of more facts than have been yet collected, it seems useless to speculate much upon the climate. Covering as it does, five degrees and a half of latitude, the State may be supposed to offer a great variety of temperature and productions. But it must be borne in mind, that the whole extent is within the more favored latitudes, its northern limit stopping far short of the repulsive confines of perpetual winter, and its southern extremity being as far removed above the debilitating influence of the tropical summer. Perhaps we cannot better convey an idea of this felicity of position, than by a simple statement of the fact, that while it is too far north for the successful cultivation of cotton, wheat and Indian corn both attain, in every part of it, their greatest perfection.

It appears to us, that, from the first peopling of the West, a disposition has been manifested to believe, that the climate in winter is milder than in the same degree of latitude at the East. The luckless Frenchmen, who were inveigled by Mr. Barlow to the banks of the Ohio in 1791, were taught to expect a climate where frost and snow were unknown; and almost every writer on the subject since, if not proceeding quite so far, has nevertheless struggled hard to persuade himself into the belief, that a favorable difference existed. This opinion is utterly at variance with any conclusion which would be drawn from analogy. The sunny lands of Italy and the South of France, lie in the same latitude with the Middle States of the East, where frosty skies and snowy landscapes are no rarity. Nor is it easy to see why this law of analogy

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should be reversed in the country west of the mountains, where the distance of the ocean, that great meliorator of temperature in its vicinity, would lead us to look for no such result.

How far this prevalent opinion is erroneous, a series of carefully taken meteorological observations, only, can satisfactorily show. In the mean time, a few facts, which have fallen under our observation, have entirely shaken our faith in the correctness of the hypothesis. We know, that, during the last ten years, there has been no winter when the thermometer has not sunk, in the central parts of Illinois, as low as 12° below zero of Fahrenheit's thermometer. We have known it as low as 26° below this point, and for a week at a time we have seen it never once rise above zero. We have known the frost to penetrate the earth, in exposed situations, three feet below the surface, whence it had not entirely come out by the middle of April. Hardly a winter passes but the Mississippi at St. Louis, in the same parallel of latitude with Washington, is frozen over, and passable on the ice. When we consider its width at this place, and the velocity and turbulence of its current, we may form some idea of the intensity of cold, requisite to bind it in fetters of ice. Further up, above the mouth of the Missouri, it is a thoroughfare for weeks, we had almost said months, every winter. The intense coldness of the blasts, which at this temperature sweep over so open a country, may be well conceived. But with this candid allowance, our objections to the climate cease. This extremity of cold is of but short continuance, seldom lasting a week. The winters are in general dry, and late in setting in. It is not unusual for the bland temperature of the Indian summer to linger till Christmas, nor are the latter months of winter deformed by the frequent thawings and freezings, which render that season at the East a period of endurance. The open prairies, which allow free scope for the bitter blasts of winter, give equal freedom to the breezes of summer, which play unimpeded over their surface, bringing health and coolness on their wings.

A question of vital importance connected with this topic, one upon which every prudent emigrant would wish to be well informed, yet remains to be spoken of. We allude of course to health. If the New-Englander, who has reared, in poverty upon the rugged hills of his native clime, a family of

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sturdy, healthy children, is to see their cheeks pale, and their limbs totter, upon the rank soil to which he has taken them with a hope of bettering their condition, the fertility of that soil, or perhaps even the acquisition of property, would be, in his eyes, a poor compensation for the difference.

It is not often practicable in this case to elude the plain question, "Is the country healthy?" by reverting to the fact, that all newly settled countries have been sickly. We may assure the emigrant, that in early times the much dreaded scourge of fever and ague was no stranger in the valleys of New England. He can reply, that, at any rate, it is not known there now. Nor will it afford him any consolation to know, that, after his own and his children's strength shall have failed, in opening the virgin soil, and draining the adjacent morass, his successor will reap the benefit of his labors, and will occupy, with a healthy family, the spot which was the grave of himself and his kindred.

We think that, in the hints which we have already thrown out, in the course of this article, something like a solution may be found to these questions. If the emigrant, seduced by the fertility of the bottom lands, shall venture into the vicinity of the swamps and lagoons, with which they abound; or if, on the upland, tempted by some fine spring, or the convenience of timber, he shall disregard the neighbourhood of a stream with its accompanying morasses, and there take up his residence, common sense may predict, what experience will teach him, that he must inevitably pay the penalty of these advantages. If, on the other hand, he is willing to forego some of these privileges, which are frequently mere temptations to idleness, and, selecting the high grounds which are everywhere in sight, make his home there, upon land as rich as heart can desire, he may with great certainty calculate on as good a share of health as is to be enjoyed on this continent. And why should it be otherwise? The exciting causes of sickness are nowhere near. A dry and undulating upland, destitute of any decaying vegetation, is around him, over which there is nothing to impede the circulation of the air.

Unfortunately for the reputation of the State, the commercial towns, which are necessarily upon the water-courses, are most accessible to travellers. And here, it is too true, the causes we have already enumerated, have prostrated many a strong man, and cut off many a valuable life. Nor

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will it be otherwise, except in towns singularly favored in position, until the wealth and energy of their citizens shall enable them to drain every lagoon, and substitute cultivated fields for every swamp in the vicinity; when the results, which have followed like proceedings at Cincinnati and Louisville, will, of course, be their reward. We do not speak without much confidence in this matter. Hundreds of residences are, to our own knowledge, selected as we have above recommended, where the ruddy children and healthy parents need fear no comparison with the denizens of the hills of New England or the mountains of Virginia.

A state, so surrounded by navigable waters, so fertile, and intersected by so many channels of communication, natural and artificial, should include, within its borders, towns and cities, large and many. The last ten years have, in fact, seen an inconceivable number of towns, projected on every point, where ingenuity could find room, or cupidity promise a reward; and, in some of them, the *mania* of speculation has run as wild a career, and come to as sudden and disastrous an end, as in the older parts of the country. But the same causes, which produce such a multiplicity of towns, make it difficult to predict, which are to acquire the ascendency. A long line of river-coast offers, at innumerable points, desirable town sites; but, where the back country is equally fertile, fortuitous circumstances must decide, which of them are to attain to the dignity of cities. Nor would the attempt at such vaticination be a gracious task; for, perhaps, there is no one subject, upon which the citizens of these rival towns are more sensitive, than their relative importance; and to hint, that any one, in the race for metropolitan wealth and consequence, is likely to outstrip its competitors, would give mortal offence to all the others. No jockey at a horserace could take greater umbrage at an attempt to jostle or ride foul the favorite on which he had staked his money.

Under these circumstances we will only venture to surmise, that, on the upper Mississippi above the mouth of the Illinois, the vicinity of this river running nearly parallel, as it does, to the former, and offering an abundance of town sites, will prevent, for nearly two hundred miles, any one place from engrossing the trade of a very wide extent of country. Further up on that beautiful stream, some one or more large

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cities must spring up, and with those that get the start in the race will most probably be the victory. The point of junction of two large rivers has long been thought a favorable spot for the growth of a large city ; and, at the mouth of the Ohio, efforts are now making to remove, by art and labor, the obstacles that nature has placed in the way. The grounds for this supposition we have never been able to see. Certain it is, that no one of the large cities of the West is thus situated, except Pittsburg ; and it is obvious, that this city owes its importance, not so much to the fact of its being at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela, as that it is at the head of navigation on the Ohio, and surrounded and overtopped by coal, inexhaustible in quantity, and unsurpassed in quality. No necessity exists for the stoppage or transfer of goods or produce at any of these points. Boats, that descend the one, can most commonly ascend the other ; nor, at any rate, would the transfer of goods from larger to smaller boats, alone, afford business to support a city. Neither can any reason be assigned for the accumulation of produce here, beyond what is incident to any other landing. In fact, its very position exposes it to a greater extent of rivalry, from the vicinity of the two rivers, and the extent of river-coast in proportion to the back country.

The position of Chicago, at the foot of Lake Michigan, and at the termination of the Illinois and Michigan canal, gives that place great advantages, which will tell in proportion to the growth and prosperity of the State.

Of inland towns there must be many, and those beautiful. Some of them, even now, are as handsome as we have ever seen ; and, as the wealth of their citizens increases, we may look for a correspondent display of taste in ornamenting sites, which are very often happily chosen. Springfield, the new capital of the State, will probably be among the largest.

In the civil polity and legislation of Illinois, we know not, that there is much to distinguish it from the rest of the Western States. Its constitution was adopted, after many others had been in operation long enough to show defects which should be avoided, or to serve as models for imitation. Of course, the freest democracy, consistent with a representative government, pervades the system.

Various acts of different legislative bodies, as the act of cession by Virginia, in 1784, the different ordinances of

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Congress, and the act for the admission of the State into the Union, impose certain terms and restrictions, which, by its entrance into the Union, the State bound itself to perform. Virginia stipulated, that the inhabitants of the French villages should have their possessions and titles confirmed to them, and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties; and that all the land she ceded to the United States should be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of the whole, and that they should be disposed of only for the benefit of the whole nation, and for no other purpose. The ordinance of Congress, of 1787, provides, that the inhabitants of the Northwest Territory shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts, and shall defray their portion of the expenses of the government. It prevents the legislature of the Territory from interfering with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States, declares the navigable waters, leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, public highways, and free to all the inhabitants of the United States, and prohibits slavery within its limits.

Upon its admission into the Union, Congress required, that the State should exempt all land, purchased of the United States, from taxation for five years; the bounty lands, provided they are held so long by the patentees or their heirs, for three years; and that no higher tax be imposed on non-resident, than upon resident proprietors. And, in return, they gave up to the State all the salt springs within its limits, prohibiting the legislature, however, from selling or leasing the same for a longer time than ten years; and they gave the State five per cent. of the proceeds of all sales of their land within its limits, two-fifths to be disbursed by Congress in making roads leading to the State, and three-fifths to be appropriated by the legislature for the encouragement of learning, one-sixth whereof is exclusively reserved for founding a College or University; and they gave, besides, a section of land, in each township, for the use of schools.

The principal peculiarities in the constitution are the following. The legislature meets but once in two years. The governor of the State, and the judges of the Supreme Court, compose a council of revision, whose duty it is to examine all acts passed by the legislature, and either approve them, in which case they become laws, or return them with their objections in writing. A majority of all the members, agreeing to

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pass an act, can, notwithstanding the dissent of the council of revision, make it a law. The right of suffrage is universal, and almost unlimited, six months' residence in the State being all that is required; and even unnaturalized foreigners, who have been so long in the State, claim and exercise the privilege of voting. The right of the people to instruct their representatives is expressly affirmed. No bank, besides those existing at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, except a State Bank, and its branches, is allowed to be chartered. There have never been any alterations, or amendments, of the constitution; and the ultra-democratic tendency, which characterizes it, has likewise marked all the legislation of the State.

The funds possessed by this State, for the purposes of education, are exclusively derived from grants made by the United States, either of lands, or of money, the proceeds of land sold in the State. The funds accruing and likely to accrue from these sources are ample, and their reservation by the Congress of the United States shows a wise and benevolent forethought of the wants of the new State. But the rigid exaction, by that body, of an equivalent in the exemption from taxation, not only of land held by themselves, but of all land for five years after it is sold, gives to the whole transaction the air of a bargain, and may on that score exempt the State from a sense of obligation; for it has been insisted, that the amount of taxes thus relinquished by the State, is a full *quid pro quo* for the grants.*

The means placed at the disposal of the State for the purposes of education, are derived, — in the first place, from the grant of a section of six hundred and forty acres in every township, which is placed, not under the control of the State (and consequently is not embraced in the estimate of the school fund), but is at the disposal, and for the benefit, of the inhabitants in each township † *per se*; the inhabitants of which, under the provisions of a general law of January 22d, 1829, regulate the time of selling the land, the proceeds of which are funded by a commissioner, suitably appointed; — and secondly, from

* Hall's *Statistics of the West*, p. 171.

† The township in Illinois is not a civil division of territory; it is simply a phrase adopted by the surveyors, and is a square of six miles, containing thirty-six sections. The counties are divided, for civil purposes, into "precincts."

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the three per cent. of the proceeds of all the public land sold in the State, the legislature moreover has set apart, for purposes of education, one half of its share of the surplus revenue of the United States, by an act passed in the session of 1836–37.

The amount of the school, college, and seminary fund, the Auditor of the State, in his report to the legislature of the 13th December, 1838, gives as $719,784·61. Mr. Peck, at page 65, estimates the total probable amount of the fund, when all the land in the State shall have been sold, at $2,764,097. This estimate includes the value of the school, or sixteenth section in each township. Up to the year 1825, nothing was done by the legislature towards organizing a system of common schools; and the smallness of the fund, then in the hands of the State, compelled the introduction into the bill passed at that time, of a clause requiring the levying of a tax for their support, which made the act unpopular, and caused its repeal by the subsequent legislature. The result of considerable legislation, since that time, has been the erection of a system, somewhat as follows; but it is no easy matter, as it has not yet gone fairly into operation, to disentangle the precise details, through the mazes of temporary, frequently repealed, and sometimes contradictory, enactments.

It is the duty of a board of school commissioners to take charge of the fund, and to apportion the interest annually among the different counties, according to their population. From the first part of their duties they have been mainly relieved by the legislature, who, by the act of February 6th, 1835, ordered them to lend the whole amount of the fund to the State. In each township a school commissioner, appointed by the county court, having given the requisite security, is authorized to sell, upon a petition signed by three-fourths of the inhabitants, the section granted by Congress to each township (the section numbered 16 is the one designated), and invest the proceeds. A board of three trustees, likewise appointed by the county court, takes charge of the school lands. Each township may, by a vote of two-thirds of the voters, become incorporated, the polls to be held by the trustees of the school lands. After securing such a vote, the corporate affairs of the township are lodged in a body of five new trustees, whose duty it is to take charge of all matters relating to schools in the township. They have a treasurer, who is also secretary; they lay off school districts in the township, build

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schoolhouses, employ teachers, call meetings of the voters, adopt by-laws for the schools, purchase libraries, and take care of township school funds and property. The school commissioner, on the incorporation of a township, gives up to their treasurer all the property of the township in his hands. A report is submitted to the legislature from each township, of the amount of funds, principal and interest, in such township, the number of schools kept, and the number of scholars. The trustees of schools in the township are once a year to call a meeting of the inhabitants, and give an account to them of the same things, reported as above, whereupon they may adopt such resolutions and prescribe such rules for promoting the cause of education, not inconsistent with the law, as they may think fit.

In the sketch we have undertaken to give, of the history and prospects of this State, some allusion to the gigantic scheme of internal improvement, now in progress there, seems unavoidable; nor are we willing to confine ourselves to a mere abstract of what has been done, and what is intended. The brief review, which we shall take of the internal improvement system of the State, and the remarks upon it, which we shall submit, will many of them be of wider application than the limits of the State to which they owe their origin.

We are very far from thinking, that the returns in tolls on works of internal improvement, (be they railroads, canals, or turnpike roads,) should be the only basis upon which to calculate the propriety of commencing them. Increased facilities of communication among the citizens of the Commonwealth; the opening of rich, and otherwise inaccessible, agricultural districts to a market; or the giving vent to the products of mines and furnaces, may, in the improvement of manners and morals, and in the increased value given to property, and the general impulse imparted to business and prosperity in the State, remunerate the community far beyond the tolls they may yield at the collectors' offices. Nay, we are willing to go further, and say, that, a system of internal improvement once completed and in successful operation, we doubt not but it would be better policy for the State, having thus accomplished their works, to put down the tolls so low, as barely to pay the interest of their cost, and defray the expense of keeping them in repair, than to look to them as a

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source of revenue; and this is an opinion not hastily advanced, and one which, did our space permit, we are prepared to defend. But then the propriety of undertaking works where there is any doubt of a profitable return in tolls, should be rigidly tried by the ability of the State to carry them through, and keep inviolate the public faith, in the worst emergencies.

The truth however is, that the whole internal improvement system of the country, has run most sadly, to use an appropriate metaphor, "off the track." The necessity of adopting the compromise, or, as it is more commonly called in the West, the "log-rolling" system, reflects but little credit on the intelligence or patriotism of the people. In digesting a plan of improved internal communication for a State, more especially one whose resources are small, and profit from the works consequently indispensable, and where every thing of the sort is new and experimental, common sense and common prudence would seem to require, that some one great route, the thoroughfare between important points, should be first completed, and that lateral branches, on less important routes, should come in their turn, and be constructed leisurely as they may be needed, or as the income yielded by the greater work already finished may justify their being undertaken. Such is the course which reason and common sense, and, — if the word, or the impulse that it implies, be not obsolete, — patriotism, would dictate; but unfortunately the opposite course is generally, almost invariably, pursued. No sooner is a plan of this sort agitated, than a thousand conflicting influences are brought into play. The inhabitants of each section look only to their own advantage; and their representatives adhere with a dogged pertinacity to the interests of their immediate constituents, utterly regardless of the true interests of the country at large, and reckless what unprofitable expenditure of public money they induce, provided they can, on returning to their electors, point to some absurd road, or preposterous canal, running through their own neighbourhood, with which their obstinacy has succeeded in burdening the improvement fund. This same selfishness is equally active in afterwards selecting and locating routes; and many an expensive work, many a deviation from the direct and economical course, can be traced to the influence of some village, ambitious to become a city, or of some petty squire or landholder, potential at the polls.

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If in addition to these evil influences, thus standing frequently at the threshold of such undertakings, they should unfortunately be commenced at a time when party strife is running high, and the dominant party, engrossing the power and controlling the action of the State, in the belief that the measure will be popular, determine to monopolize to themselves the credit of originating and carrying it through, — why, then, we may conclude that suggestions of prudence, and hints for moderation, will be weighed, not according to their merit, but to the side in politics from which they emanate; and that the same principle will predominate, not only in the selection of officers and agents to carry it into execution, but in estimating the manner in which they afterwards discharge their duties.

How far any of these remarks may be applicable to the policy of Illinois, will be seen in the short statement we shall proceed to make of the origin, progress, and prospects of her system of internal improvement now in operation. The public works in the State are included under two distinct heads, controlled by separate sets of officers, each entirely independent of the other; a board of three canal commissioners, for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, appointed under the law of 1835 – 36, and a board of fund commissioners, and of commissioners of public works, consisting, the one of seven, the other of three individuals, who have charge of the system of railroads, &c., created at the session of 1836 – 37.

The project of connecting, by a canal, Lake Michigan with the waters of the Mississippi, was early suggested, — so early, in fact, that it is difficult to say to whom the credit of first mentioning it is due. Canoes, passing with only the interruption of a short portage, from the Fox River of Lake Michigan into the Wisconsin, or from the flooded country about Chicago, into the Des Plaines, one of the sources of the Illinois, seemed to point out both of these routes as capable of being made the channels of a permanent artificial water communication. As the latter of them only is within the bounds of Illinois, so likewise does it connect the lake with more permanent and valuable river navigation. Of the importance of such a canal to the whole northern part of the State, and to the extensive country west of the Mississippi, and north of the mouth of the Ohio, there can be but one opinion.

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The extreme uncertainty of the navigation of the Ohio, during the period of low water, which not unfrequently includes the whole summer, is throwing already a large amount of the travel and freight destined for St. Louis and the upper country, into the northern Lakes, even while laboring under the disadvantage of considerable overland travel.

As early as 1823, engineers and commissioners examined the route under the authority of the State; but their report contemplated a canal of much less extent and smaller dimensions than the one afterwards agreed upon, nor did they contemplate the difficulties of excavation, since encountered; and they consequently placed the probable cost at less than one-tenth of the estimate, which, upon subsequent investigation, has been submitted. In 1825, the legislature chartered a company for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, but, no stock being taken, the charter was afterwards repealed. After a variety of surveys and estimates, made since then, and some vacillation as to the propriety of constructing a railroad instead of a canal, the legislature, at a special session in the winter of 1835–36, determined to embark resolutely in the business, and to construct a canal, the dimensions of which, as agreed upon by the commissioners, are, 60 feet wide at the top, 36 feet wide at the bottom, and 6 feet deep, and in length a trifle over 100 miles. The total estimated cost of this was the enormous and unprecedented sum of 8,654,337 dollars; subsequent experience and investigation, however, have induced the chief engineer to reduce this estimate to 7,621,442 dollars,* which it will probably cost. Thus a canal, of less than one third of the length of the Erie Canal of New York, will require nearly two millions more of money. This difference in cost is owing not only to the increased price of labor, and the greater dimensions of this canal, but to the quantity of rock excavation, and the depth to which it is necessary to cut down at the summit level, it having been decided to use the waters of Lake Michigan to supply the canal. The act of Congress of March 2d, 1827, giving to the State every alternate section of land within five miles of the canal, we may presume was the inducement to this bold undertaking. As to the value of these

* *Report of Chief Engineer of Illinois and Michigan Canal, to Board of Commissioners*, December 10th, 1838, included in the Report to the Governor, of December 13th, 1838, p. 26.

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lands, we know of no better authority than the Report of the commissioners of December 13th, 1838. "If these lands and town-lots be very gradually and cautiously brought into market, reserving the chief part until the canal shall have been completed, and all its advantages clearly understood, there is more than enough to build it on the present capacious and permanent plan. But, on the contrary, if sales be forced, and all the lands be disposed of before their true value be known, there cannot fail to be a deficit of several millions of dollars." *

In the mean time, the credit of the State is pledged for money already borrowed and expended; and it must of course be pledged still further to complete the work, which cannot now well be stopped or delayed, as the value of these lands and town-lots, and the existence of the prospective manufacturing towns on its route, depend upon the completion of the canal, which is to make the former accessible, and to supply the latter with their water power.†

In Illinois, great interest has always been felt in the success of the railroad system. At about the time of its first introduction into the United States, the intelligent part of her people were beginning to look anxiously for some improved means of communication with the seaboard. The great natural outlets, the Mississippi and the Lake, afforded wonderful facilities for the exporting of her products, and conveniences for travel, which a few years ago would have been thought ample. But still, no citizen of the State could look at the mass of the country without seeing that the circuitous nature of these routes required a voyage double the length of a straight line, between the centre of the State and the seaboard, and it is well known that even these circuitous routes are closed for several months in each year, either by ice or low water. Under these circumstances, the discovery of a means by which not only travellers, but even merchandise, could be transported through the heart of the country with a speed rivalling the flight of birds, at all seasons and at all

* *Report of Chief Engineer of Illinois and Michigan Canal, to Board of Commissioners*, December 10th, 1838, included in the Report to the Governor, of December 13th, 1838, p. 16.

† The commissioners think, that the canal can be finished in four years from the date of their report, — 1838. They say, that there had then been expended $ 1,432,445·43, and that, in the year 1839, will be required a provision of a million and a half, and, in 1840, of two millions of dollars.

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hours, in defiance of ice, independently of high or low water, without fatigue, and almost without risk, was hailed as supplying the desideratum so eagerly sought.

This State seemed too, by its even and sound surface, peculiarly adapted for the cheap and easy construction of railroads. Many were the inducements besides, to be acting in the matter without delay. Population was needed; it was desirable to offer facility of access to emigrants. The State was new; fewer obstacles from established interests would interfere with the adoption of a judicious system. The right of way could be purchased upon easy terms. And above all, a plan once laid down, the State would have the advantage of *growing to it;* and with reference to it, all new towns and improvements would be made. This last consideration will have the more weight with those, who have seen how much the usefulness and the profits of railroads are impaired, in the older States, by the necessity of consulting so many rival interests; and, moreover, how sadly these roads cut and carve through the established improvements of the country, so that a traveller, thus seeing it for the first time, must receive as unfavorable an impression as he would, were he introduced to a large city by the alleys and by-ways, where, instead of wide and clean streets and handsome buildings, he would encounter shabby tenements, noisome odors, and squalid wretchedness.

All these causes had been, no doubt, at work, acting as a stimulus to the State to be up and doing, when the legislature assembled, in the autumn of 1836. Yet it is very certain, that the people at large, who elected this legislature, though, as we have just stated, wide awake to the importance of the subject, did not contemplate the adoption of any very decided measures. We think we may very safely say, that the desire was rather for information and discussion. Such, however, proved not to be the temper of the legislature. They thought the time had arrived for action. There was, to be sure, a drawback; the State had no funds, and but few resources. But the discovery had been made, that the people of the East, and more especially of Europe, were laboring under a plethory of the purse, from which they would rejoice to be relieved by the phlebotomizing process of a loan to any, who could promise to relieve them from the care of their money for a good long while, and offer approved secu-

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rity. To be sure, it was admitted, that foreign capital was dangerous to our liberties, and ought to be pronounced contraband. But there is no rule without exceptions; the pulse of enterprise was at fever heat; and when speculators, public or private, can have plenty of money on a long credit, it must be some very uncommon scruple that will stand in their way.

A glance, here, at the resources and financial condition of the State, may not be amiss, as it will show, what were its intrinsic abilities to bear additional burdens. The income of the State from taxes, up to the passage of the act* of February 26th, 1839, was derived from the non-resident owners of land. All taxes, derived from the citizens, whether from land or other sources, were levied and expended in the counties. The State, besides, had a small income from bank bonuses and dividends. Both sources of revenue had, however, latterly failed to defray the current expenses, and loans had been resorted to, as well from individuals, as from the school-fund.

The auditor of public accounts, in his report to the legislature of December 12th, 1838, gives the joint amount, from both these sources, at $67,500, viz. land $46,000, bank bonuses, dividends, &c., $21,500, and adds, that "these are the only sources of revenue which the State possesses, except the school-fund, which ought not to be regarded as a legitimate source of revenue. On the first day of January next, $43,571·52 must be paid out of the State treasury for the interest on the school, college, and seminary fund, and the expenses of the legislature, for the present session, may be estimated at $80,000. These two expenditures, alone, form the sum of $123,571·52, a sum nearly twice as large as the annual revenue of the State." The other current expenses, amounting to $36,270, swell the excess of expenditures over the income to $92,241·52.

It is superfluous to remark, that, under such circumstances, prudence and honesty would dictate, that no debt should be incurred for works, from which a certain income might not be calculated, sufficiently large to relieve from all apprehension of subsequent embarrassment.

* That act imposes a tax of twenty cents on every hundred dollars of taxable property (including lands), for State purposes; and authorizes the county commissioners to impose a tax to the amount of fifty cents on the hundred dollars, for county purposes. Lands are, by this law, and always have been, liable to be sold for taxes.

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Whatever weight these various considerations may have had with the legislature, and we may presume they were duly considered, they passed, on the 22d of February, 1837 (selecting an auspicious birthday), "An act to establish and maintain a general system of internal improvement." The most striking features of this act are, that it provides for the construction of 1342 miles of railroad; it appropriates a large sum of money ($200,000) for the use of those few counties in the State, which no stretch of ingenuity could penetrate with either railroad or canal; it requires, that the work should be commenced, simultaneously, upon all of the roads, at their intersection with navigable waters, contemplating their joint completion at the same time, so as to give no one the preference over another; and it specifies certain towns through which the proposed roads must pass.* Of these roads, one runs through the State, in its whole length, from Galena to the mouth of the Ohio, *parallel to the course of the Mississippi;* four cross the State from west to east, three of which diverge from Alton, and one starts from Quincy on the Mississippi; all of these (except one which runs to Shawneetown on the Ohio) strike the line of Indiana, with which State no agreement exists, as yet, to continue any of them. Besides these, several shorter roads are provided for, which are to intersect and connect the main routes, at different points, till the whole State "will be scarred and furrowed," as has been said of England, "by railways, resembling the straight, cross-barred lines, tattooed across the countenance of the New Zealander." †

Of the funds necessary to carry out this stupendous project, every dollar has to be borrowed. The State had in its possession, or under its control, no funds which could be legitimately applied to this purpose. The school and seminary fund, — that part not already borrowed to defray the current expenses of the State, — was first lent by the State to itself, and the fund commissioners were authorized forthwith to obtain money on the best terms practicable. But, what appears to have been thought the master-stroke of

* In many instances, the fee simple of such towns could be bought for less money, than the deviation (necessary to visit them) from the direct and economical line will cost.

† *London Quarterly Review*, for January, 1839.

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financiering, a State stock of about three millions was created, the proceeds of which were invested in the stock of the State bank and of the bank of Shawneetown,* which institutions had their charters expanded for the reception of this influx. Of the profits from this participation in a venture, which proved so disastrous on a former occasion, the most sanguine anticipations are indulged. They have been estimated (after paying the interest on the loans which the stock cost) as high as $180,000 per annum.

The following estimate of the cost of these works, and of the resources of the State, embodies the latest authentic information that has been given to the public. They are extracted from the report of the committee on internal improvement to the House of Representatives of the State, submitted on the 16th of February, 1839. The total cost is set down at $14,000,000. The gross amount of interest, that will have accrued on the loans, which will constitute the above sum for eight years, including 1846 (when the works will have been in operation one year), is $4,327,518. The gross receipts for that period are estimated at $3,829,349, showing a deficit to be provided for of $498,169. Of the foundations upon which these estimates rest, we may judge, when we learn, that, of these receipts, $720,000 are calculated as the profits to arise to the State from its banking speculation; $236,000 are set down as the proceeds of premiums and exchanges; and, most monstrous of all, $2,385,000 are to be gathered from tolls, that is, this sum is to be the net proceeds of the tolls, after paying the cost of collection and repairs; and the works are to commence yielding a small net income on the total expenditures, even so soon as the third year from their commencement (when, from the very nature of the system, no one road is to be completed, except for a few miles at the termination of each). This income is gradually to increase, till, in the year 1846, it is to equal the amount of interest due on the whole $14,000,000 of debt, and, in connexion with the bank dividends, yield the State a clear profit of $90,000 for that year's operation!

Now, of these three sources of revenue, the first two are

* By this increase of the capital of the Shawneetown bank, the legislature undoubtedly infringed the *spirit* of that part of the constitution, which (excepting those already in existence, whereof this was one,) prohibits the chartering of other than the State banks.

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altogether hypothetical, and depend upon contingencies over which the legislature has no control. And the third we have no hesitation in pronouncing utterly fallacious. What grounds the committee can have for calculating so large an income from these roads, even after they are all completed, we are not told. Certain it is, that the experience of railroad profits, even in wealthy and thickly-peopled parts of the country, would not justify any thing like so large a calculation; but to estimate these profits at so large a rate in a country new and thinly settled, from roads traversing districts, where, in some instances, the traveller may now ride for half a day without seeing a human habitation, and to calculate, that they will begin to yield an income before the connexion, which alone can make them serviceable, is completed, argues a sanguineness of anticipation, but seldom indulged by sober-minded men.

Nor are we apprehensive, that these remarks will be construed into a hostility to railroads, or a doubt as to the benefits they are destined, ultimately, to bestow upon the human race, and more especially upon the citizens of this republic. It is our strong conviction of their utility, which induces us to lament, that rashness or extravagance should, by grasping too eagerly at so great a good, embarrass the concerns of a young and enterprising State, and postpone, as we much fear they will, a consummation, which prudence and economy would otherwise have accomplished.

"The valley of the West," says M. De Tocqueville, "is the most magnificent dwelling ever prepared by God for man's abode." Not intending to say aught in disparagement of any of the other western States, which are advancing, *pari passu*, in the race to greatness, — and each of which has its admirers, and has found its advocates, — we may be allowed to say, that none of them better deserves to share in the above eulogium than Illinois. Possessed of a fertile soil, a fine climate, and unexampled natural facilities for navigation, and occupied by an intelligent, and, we think we may say, a well-meaning population, she may present her claims to favorable consideration as freely as any of her sisters. And emigrants, who come with sound views and industrious habits, may be as safe from disappointment here as in any part of the West.

We are well convinced, that mistaken calculations and

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exaggerated hopes have taken to the West many a family, who have never ceased to mourn over what experience has taught them was a false step. People, to whom the gratification of the artificial wants and an enjoyment of the refinements of a high state of civilization have become matters of prime necessity, have, in many instances, — dreaming of the Arcadian freedom and easy abundance of the prairies, — broken up their establishments and severed the bonds of early association, and have gradually and painfully awoke to the conviction (when return was impracticable), that labor, arduous, and perhaps unusual, was necessary for their support; that society, such as they had been accustomed to, was not to be found, in which to enjoy their hours of relaxation; and that sickness was to be encountered far from the friends and relatives, to whom they had formerly looked for assistance and sympathy. And it has been with no little astonishment, that, in the face of so many instances of this kind, we have seen the tide of emigration swelling and rolling on, in the vigorous and permanent stream which we still witness.

Fortunately, however, for the reputation and for the prosperity of the West, the bulk of the emigrants have been of a different sort, have been made of sterner stuff. The operative farmer, who expects to till the soil with his own hands, may be assured, that the value of a year's wages will make him the owner of as much land as he can cultivate, as fertile as he can desire, which every year will be increasing in value; while he can settle his children around him, who will be here, by the way, aids to him in the acquisition of property, and not drawbacks upon his progress. The merchant, of small means and of active habits, here finds a field, where personal enterprise and industry supply the want of capital. The young professional man, without patronage, and hopeless of success in the older States, repairs eagerly to a country, where all are upon the same footing with himself, where he has to work his way up against no overshadowing reputations, and where, supposing him industrious and honest, if the country grow, he must rise with it. It is of materials such as these, that the emigration, which is now covering the prairies of Illinois, is mainly composed.

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ART. VI. — *Two Ways of Dying for a Husband.* 1. *Dying to keep him, or Tortesa the Usurer.* 2. *Dying to lose him, or Bianca Visconti.* By N. P. WILLIS, Esq., Author of "Pencillings by the Way," "The Slingsby Papers," "Melanie," &c. &c. London: Hugh Cunningham. 1839. 8vo. pp. 245.

THE variety and versatility of Mr. Willis's literary abilities have been strikingly displayed within the last few years. He writes a prose style, which, for splendor of diction, brilliancy and tastefulness of ornament, and musical flow, will bear a favorable comparison with that of any author in the walks of elegant literature, whether in England or in the United States. His language possesses that curious but indescribable felicity, that clearness and graphic power, and that gracefulness of racy idiomatic expression, which wind their way into every reader's mind, and enchant his senses by their manifold fascinations. His works have had an almost unprecedented circulation, in spite of certain grave faults, which drew down upon them the heavy censure of some of the British critics. But the critics are not omnipotent; and the writings of a man of genius, like Mr. Willis, however light and transient the theme, will be popular, will be read. His "Pencillings by the Way," therefore, notwithstanding their offences against the laws of society in some instances, continue to be republished, adorned by all the luxury of the British press. We understand that a new edition of his collected "Poems," is about to appear in the style of Rogers's magnificent volumes.

But, as we have, on a former occasion, presented our view of Willis's poetry at some length, we do not intend to repeat the observations we then made;* we shall simply give a brief account of the two dramatic poems, the somewhat whimsical titles of which are placed at the head of this paper. They are marked by the usual excellences of the author's style. The dialogue is spirited, rising sometimes to a high strain of poetry; the words are aptly chosen, and the lines are constructed according to the true dramatic style; that is, they are elevated beyond the language of prose, without having the stately march of the heroic measure. The

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLIII. pp. 384 *et seq.*

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story of Tortesa is as follows. He is a usurer, who has purchased the lands of Count Falcone, an impoverished Florentine nobleman, but has agreed to restore them, on condition of receiving Isabella de Falcone, the Count's beautiful daughter, for his wife. The first scene of the play opens just after the bargain has been concluded. The Count is about to set forth with the Duke of Florence ; and the miser demands, that the nuptials shall be celebrated immediately on his return, and that, in the mean time, Isabella shall be kept in privacy.

" Seal your door up till you come back again !
I 'd have no foplings tampering with my wife !
None of your painted jackdaws from the court,
Sneering and pitying her ! My lord Falcone !
Shall she be private ? " —p. 2.

The Count consents, and leaves him ; whereupon Tortesa breaks out into the following soliloquy.

" Oh, omnipotence of money !
Ha ! ha ! Why, there 's the haughtiest nobleman
That walks in Florence. *He !* — whom I have bearded, —
Checked, — made conditions to, — shut up his daughter, —
And all with *money !* They should pull down churches,
And worship it ! Had I been *poor*, that man
Would see me rot ere give his hand to me.
I, — as I stand here, — dressed thus, — looking thus, —
The same in all, — save money in my purse, —
He would have scorned to let me come so near
That I could breathe on him ! Yet, that were little, —
For pride sometimes outdoes humility ;
And your great man will please to be familiar,
To show how he can stoop. But halt you there !
He *has* a jewel that you may not name !
His *wife* 's above you ! You 're no company
For his most noble *daughter !* You are brave, —
'T is nothing ! comely, — nothing ! honorable, —
You are a phœnix of all human virtues, —
But, while your blood 's mean, there 's a frozen bar
Betwixt you and a *lady*, that will melt, —
Not with religion, — scarcely with the grave, —
But, like a mist, with *money !*" —pp. 3, 4.

The usurer is now visited by a tradesman, and the glover's daughter Zippa, bringing his wedding gloves. A spirited dialogue follows ; and Zippa resolves to try her hand at a

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counterplot for the purpose of breaking off the match. The next scene opens in the *studio* of Angelo, a poor painter. The contrast, between the aspiring genius of the artist and the practical views of the servant Tomaso, is very amusingly carried out. We subjoin a part of the dialogue.

"[*The Painter's Study. Angelo Painting. Tomaso in the foreground, arranging a meagre repast.*]

Tomaso. A thrice-picked bone, a stale crust, and — excellent water? Will you to breakfast, Master Angelo?

Angelo. Look on this touch, good Tomaso, if it be not life itself, — (*Draws him before his easel.*) Now, what think'st thou?

Tomaso. Um, — fair! fair enough!

Angelo. No more?

Tomaso. Till it mend my breakfast, I will never praise it! Fill me up that *outline*, Master Angelo! (*Takes up the naked bone.*) *Color* me that water. To what end dost thou dabble there?

Angelo. I am weary of telling thee to what end. Have patience, Tomaso!

Tomaso (*coaxingly.*) Would'st thou but paint the goldsmith a sign, now, in good fair letters!

Angelo. Have I no genius for the art, think'st thou?

Tomaso. *Thou!* ha! ha!

Angelo. By thy laughing, thou would'st say *no!*

Tomaso. Thou a genius! Look! Master Angelo! Have I not seen thee every day since thou wert no bigger than thy pencil?

Angelo. And if thou hast?

Tomaso. Do I not know thee from crown to heel? Dost thou not come in at that door as I do? — sit down in that chair as I do? — eat, drink, and sleep, as I do? Dost thou not call me Tomaso, and I thee Angelo?

Angelo. Well!

Tomaso. Then how canst thou have genius? Are there no marks? Would I clap thee on the back, and say good morrow? Nay, look thee! would I stand here telling thee in my wisdom what thou art, if thou wert a genius? Go to, Master Angelo! I love thee well, but thou art comprehensible!

Angelo. But think'st thou never of my works, Tomaso?

Tomaso. *Thy* works! Do I not grind thy paints? Do I not see thee take up thy pallette, place thy foot thus, and dab here, dab there? I tell thee thou hast never done stroke yet, I could not take the same brush and do after thee. Thy works, truly!

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Angelo. How think'st thou would Donatello paint, if he were here ?

Tomaso. Donatello ? I will endeavour to show thee ! (*Takes the pallette and brush with a mysterious air.*) The pictures should be there ! His pencil, — (*throws down Angelo's pencil, and seizes a broom*), his pencil should be as long as this broom ! He should raise it thus, — with his eyes rolling thus, — and with his body thrown back thus !

Angelo. What then ?

Tomaso. Then he should see something in the air, — a sort of a hm — ha — r — r — rrrr, — (you understand.) And he first strides off here and looks at it, — then he strides off there and looks at it, — then he looks at his long brush, — then he makes a dab ! dash ! flash ! (*Makes three strokes across Angelo's picture.*)

Angelo. Villain, my picture ! Tomaso ! (*Seizes his sword.*) With thy accursed broom thou hast spoiled a picture Donatello could ne'er have painted ! Say thy prayers, for, by the Virgin ! —— " — pp. 12 – 15.

The scene is interrupted by the arrival of the Duke and his attendants, by whom old Tomaso is mistaken for the artist. The Duke, delighted with the artist's work, requires Falcone to commission him to paint a portrait of Isabella for the Duchess. Falcone consents ; and thus the youthful artist is introduced into the presence of the peerless beauty. The character of the enthusiastic artist is well conceived and highly wrought. Of course, he falls in love, and, of course, his love is returned ; and here the plot begins to be unfolded. The old miser comes unexpectedly upon them, in this their first interview, and very naturally falls into a towering passion at the disregard of his demand, that his bride should be kept in privacy.

In the next act the plot grows more complicated. Old Tortesa is half enamoured of Zippa ; Zippa is desperately in love with Angelo, whom she has long known ; Isabella is already enchanted with the lofty genius and imaginative character of the painter ; so that things have really come to a serious pass. Zippa presents herself to Isabella, and offers her services ; and the dialogue between the high-born lady and the lowly damsel, who are, unknown to each other, passionately in love with our friend Angelo, is full of poetical beauty and natural feeling. On the Count's return from riding with the Duke, he finds the miser awaiting him. Soon

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after, a page from the Duke comes in, with a letter for the Count, commanding him to reserve his daughter, to wed the young Count Julian, the Duke having secretly been informed,

> " By what means yet I know not, that my need
> Spurs me to marry an unwilling daughter.
> He bars the match ! redeems my lands and palace,
> And has enriched the young Count Julian,
> For whom he bids me keep my daughter's hand ! " — p. 56.

But, for reasons of her own, the daughter is not at all satisfied with this new arrangement, and claims of Tortesa the fulfilment of their troth, not less to the astonishment of that worthy gentleman, than to the indignation of her father ; and here ends act second. The third act begins with a scene between Angelo and Tomaso, showing the change which two hundred ducats had wrought in the servant's estimation of his master's genius.

" [*Angelo discovered in his studio, painting upon the picture of Isabella.*]

ANGELO.

My soul is drunk with gazing on this face.
I reel and faint with it. In what sweet world
Have I traced all its lineaments before ?
I know them. Like a troop of long-lost friends,
My pencil wakes them with its eager touch,
And they spring up, rejoicing. Oh, I 'll gem
The heaven of Fame with my irradiate pictures,
Like kindling planets, — but this glorious one
Shall be their herald, like the evening star,
First-lit, and lending of its fire to all.
The day fades, — but the lamp burns on within me.
My bosom has no dark, no sleep, no change
To dream or calm oblivion. I work on
When my hand stops. The light tints fade. Good night,
Fair image of the fairest thing on earth,
Bright Isabella !

(*Leans on the rod with which he guides his hand, and remains looking at his picture.*)

[*Enter Tomaso with two bags of money.*]

Tomaso. For the most excellent painter, Angelo, two hundred ducats ! The genius of my master flashes upon me. The Duke's greeting and two hundred ducats ! If I should

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not have died in my blindness but for this eye-water, may I be hanged. (*Looks at Angelo.*) He is studying his picture. What an air there is about him, — lofty, unlike the vulgar! Two hundred ducats! (*Observes Angelo's hat on the table.*) It strikes me now, that I can see genius in that hat. It is not like a common hat. Not like a bought hat. The rim turns to the crown with an intelligence. (*Weighs the ducats in his hand.*) Good heavy ducats. What it is to refresh the vision! I have looked round, ere now, in this very chamber, and fancied that the furniture expressed a melancholy dulness. When he hath talked to me of his pictures, I have seen the chairs smile. Nay, as if shamed to listen, the very table has looked foolish. Now, all about me expresseth a choice peculiarity, — as you would say, How like a genius to have such chairs! What a painter-like table! Two hundred ducats!

Angelo. What hast thou for supper?

Tomaso. Two hundred ducats, my great master!

Angelo, (*absently.*) A cup of wine! Wine, Tomaso! [*Sits down.*]

Tomaso. (So would the great Donatello have sat upon his chair! His legs thus! His hand falling thus!) (*Aloud.*) There is nought in the cellar but stale beer, my illustrious master! (Now, it strikes me, that his shadow is unlike another man's, — of a *pink* tinge, somehow, — yet that may be fancy.)

Angelo. Hast thou no money? Get wine, I say!

Tomaso. I saw the duke in the market-place, who called me Angelo, (we shall rue that trick yet,) and with a gracious smile asked me if thou hadst paid the twenty flasks.

Angelo, (*not listening.*) Is there no wine?

Tomaso. I said to his grace, No! Pray mark the sequel: In pity of my thirst, the Duke sends me two, — ahem! — *one* hundred ducats. Here they are!

Angelo. Didst thou say the wine was on the lees?

Tomaso. With these *fifty* ducats we shall buy nothing but wine. (He will be rich with fifty.)

Angelo. What saidst thou?

Tomaso. I spoke of *twenty* ducats sent thee by the duke. Wilt thou finger them ere one is spent?

Angelo. I asked thee for wine, — I am parched.

Tomaso. Of these *ten* ducats, think'st thou we might spend one for a flask of better quality?

Angelo. Lend me a ducat, if thou hast one, and buy wine presently. Go!

Tomaso. I 'll lend it thee, willingly, my illustrious master. It is my last, but as much thine as mine.

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Angelo. Go ! Go !

Tomaso. Yet wait ! There 's a scrap of news ! Falcone's daughter marries Tortesa, the usurer ! To-morrow is the bridal.

Angelo. How ?

Tomaso. I learned it in the market-place ! There will be rare doings !

Angelo. Dog ! Villain ! Thou hast lied ? Thou dar'st not say it !

Tomaso. Hey ! Art thou mad ? Nay, — borrow thy ducat where thou canst ! I 'll spend that 's my own. Adieu, master ! " — pp. 62 – 66.

Tortesa enters with a look of self-complacency ; and the irritated painter makes a violent assault upon him, and beats him at last off the stage. Angry at the apparent fickleness and falsehood of Isabella, the artist turns her portrait to the wall, and replaces it with Zippa's. Isabella enters, under the disguise of a monk. They converse about the pictures ; and Isabella, to test his feelings with regard to herself, undertakes to point out blemishes in the face. We give part of the dialogue.

" *Isabella.* Fair signor, by your leave, I 've heard it said
That in the beauty of a human face
The God of Nature never writ a lie.
Angelo. 'T is likely true !
Isabella. That howsoe'er the features
Seem fair at first, a blemish on the soul
Has its betraying speck that warns you of it.
Angelo. It should be so, indeed !
Isabella. Nay, — here 's a face
Will show at once if it be true or no.
At the first glance 't is fair !
Angelo. Most heavenly fair !
Isabella. Yet, in the lip, methinks, there lurks a shadow, —
Something, — I know not what, — but in it lies
The devil you spoke of !
Angelo. Ay, — but 't is not there !
Not in her lip ! Oh no ! Look elsewhere for it.
'T is passionately bright, — but lip more pure
Ne'er passed unchallenged through the gate of heaven.
Believe me, 't is not there !
Isabella. How falls the light ?
I see a gleam not quite angelical
About the eye. May be the light falls wrong —

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Angelo, (*drawing her to another position.*)
Stand here! D' ye see it now?
Isabella. 'T is just so here!
Angelo, (*sweeps the air with his brush.*)
There 's some curst cobweb hanging from the wall
That blurs your sight. Now, look again!
Isabella. I see it
Just as before.
Angelo. What! still? You 've turn'd an eyelash
Under the lid. Try how it feels with winking.
Is 't clear?
Isabella. 'T was never clearer!
Angelo. Then, old man!
You 'd best betake you to your prayers apace!
For you 've a failing sight, death's sure forerunner, —
And cannot pray long. Why, that eye 's a star,
Sky-lit as Hesperus, and burns as clear.
If you e'er marked the zenith at high noon,
Or midnight, when the blue lifts up to God, —
Her eye 's of that far darkness!
Isabella, (*smiling aside.*) Stay, — 't is gone!
A blur was on my sight, which, passing from it,
I see as you do. Yes, — the eye is clear.
The forehead only, now I see so well,
Has in its arch a mark infallible
Of a false heart beneath it.
Angelo. Show it to me!
Isabella. Between the eyebrows there!
Angelo. I see a tablet
Whereon the Saviour's finger might have writ
The new commandment. When I painted it
I plucked a just-blown lotus from the shade,
And shamed the white leaf till it seemed a spot, —
The brow was so much fairer! Go! old man,
Thy sight fails fast. Go! go!
Isabella. The nostril 's small, —
Is 't not?
Angelo. No!
Isabella. Then the cheek 's awry so near it,
It makes it seem so!
Angelo. Out! thou cavilling fool!
Thou 'rt one of those, whose own deformity
Makes all thou seest look monstrous. Go and pray
For a clear sight, and read thy missal with it.
Thou art a priest and livest by the altar,

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Yet dost not recognise Heaven's imprest seal,
Set on that glorious beauty !
Isabella, (*aside.*) (Oh, he loves me !
Loves me as genius loves, — ransacking earth,
And ruffling the forbidden flowers of heaven
To make celestial incense of his praise.
High-thoughted Angelo ! He loves me well !
With what a gush of all my soul I thank him, —
But he 's to win yet, and the time is precious.)
(*To Angelo.*) Signor, I take my leave.
Angelo. Good day, old man,
And if thou com'st again, bring new eyes with thee,
Or thou wilt find scant welcome.
Isabella. You shall like
These same eyes well enough when next I come ! "
— pp. 74 – 79.

Meanwhile the scheme contrived between Zippa and Isabella, to make the usurer marry the former, has been completed ; but, when Zippa learns that Angelo is the object of Isabella's passion, she rushes in anger to her presence. A dialogue between these lovelorn persons, of high wrought poetic beauty, follows. Isabella finally, after the example of Juliet, resolves to take a composing draught, and so escape the marriage with Tortesa. The wedding pomp and preparation, and the terror caused by the supposed death of the bride ; the funeral services, the artist following the corse, the usurer lagging behind, and his interview with Zippa, who persuades him that Angelo means to steal the body by night ; the setting of guards, the lady's recovery, and her reappearance at the door of her father's palace, who thinks it to be his daughter's ghost; her being taken up by Tomaso, Angelo's servant, and conveyed to his master's house, fill up the fourth act.

The fifth act discovers Angelo in his *studio*, with Isabella. In the mean time, the disappearance of the body has created terror, and fixed suspicion upon the artist. Tortesa approaches with officers and a guard, to search the premises. A scuffle ensues, but Angelo is disarmed. Isabella, however, has removed the picture from the frame, and taken its place herself. Tortesa is deceived by the *tableau*, and gazes with admiration and wonder upon the supposed portrait. One of the soldiers, however, finds Isabella's veil, that

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" Was o'er the face of that unhappy lady
When laid in sanctuary."

Upon the strength of this evidence, the artist is seized and carried before the Duke. The witnesses have been arrayed against him, but

" He makes no defence
Beyond a firm denial."

when, just as sentence is going to be passed upon him, Isabella, who has followed him to the court, under the disguise of a monk, throws off the cowl, and falls at the feet of the Duke. Of course everybody is highly surprised. Falcone exclaims, " My daughter." Angelo groans out, " Lost," and Tortesa says, " Alive ! " and Zippa, " Tortesa 'll have her ! " but she is mistaken. A wonderful change is working in Tortesa's heart, and after a few preliminary twistings and turnings in the dialogue, during which he makes a very handsome speech to Isabella, so very handsome that she really begins to entertain some relenting thoughts, he gives Angelo a deed

" Of the Falcone palaces and lands,
And all the moneys forfeit "

by Isabella's father, and the lady seems, for some time, to be at a loss how to act. But after a little jealous extravagance on the part of Angelo, in which Tortesa finds it necessary to fight with him and disarm him, the trouble is ended by Tortesa's proposing to take Zippa, in the following very sensible lines.

" Fair Zippa ! in this crossed and tangled world
Few wed the one they could have loved the best,
And fewer still wed well for happiness !
We each have lost to-day what best we love.
But as the drops, that mingled in the sky
Are torn apart in the tempestuous sea,
Yet with a new drop tremble into one,
We two, if you 're content, may swim together !
What say you ? " — pp. 138, 139.

And what could a discreet young woman say, under such circumstances ?

" I have thought on it before,
When I believed you cold and treacherous ;
'T is easy when I know you kind and noble."

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It cannot be denied, that this piece shows a good deal of dramatic genius; but still, when we look carefully into the plot, we must admit that it is very imperfectly constructed; that the parts are not well harmonized; that it has violent changes of character and transitions of feeling, which may pass unnoticed amidst the hurry of the stage and the display of scenic pomp, but which stand prominently forward, when the play is subjected to the reader's unclouded judgment. How, for instance, when the guards were set around the sanctuary which held the supposed body of Isabella, to prevent Angelo's entrance, could the lady herself escape? how could she get out, when Angelo could not get in? And how could Tortesa be so wrought upon, first by the supposed death of Isabella, and, secondly, by her unexpected return to life, by which it appeared that he had been deceived; how, under all these circumstances, could he be so wrought upon as to fall actually in love with the lady, and through the influence of this very love, to do a deed of munificent generosity for the purpose of promoting her marriage with his rival? It seems to us, that this is a revolution of character which sets dramatic propriety and probability at defiance.

We pass to "Bianca Visconti." The principal characters of this piece are historical. Francesco Sforza was the second of this name, son of the celebrated peasant warrior of Cotignola, who was the chief support of Joanna Second, the queen of Naples. But Mr. Willis has connected his drama by very slight threads with the actual history of the times in which the scene is laid. We do not undertake to decide how far the poet is bound to follow the course of history step by step. We would not condemn him to the task of hunting up all the musty records in the Ducal libraries of Italy, and of studying all the volumes of the "Art of verifying Dates." Undoubtedly, if a decided poetic effect is to be gained by sacrificing a lesser historical truth to a greater truth of art, the poet is justified in doing so. And there are many subjects which blend so much of fiction with historical truth, that the poet may use them as he pleases, consulting only his own judgment and the requisitions of his art. At the same time, the well-established facts of history are not to be distorted; nor are they to be forced out of their places, for the purpose of forming more striking poetical groups and combinations than would otherwise be possible. Whenever this is done,

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it is a defect in the poetical work, let it be sanctioned by ever so many great literary names. The plays of Shakspeare and the novels of Walter Scott exhibit examples of this, but they cannot justify it.

Now in the play before us, Mr. Willis has well filled out the historical outlines of the character of Francesco Sforza; but the principal events of his life, those on which the drama turns, are taken wholly out of their actual connexion; in short, history is falsified, in order to work out the dramatic effect which the author was aiming at, when he selected this portion of Milanese history. The drama opens with a threatened attack upon Milan by the army of Sforza, who has been promised for many years the hand of the daughter of Philip Maria Visconti, the reigning duke. But according to history, Bianca Visconti was a natural child of the Duke, and had married Sforza some years before. The marriage takes place, but Sforza treats his bride with indifference, having been made, by the intrigues of Sarpellione, the Neapolitan ambassador, to believe that she has loved another. Sforza forms ambitious hopes of being raised to the sovereignty of Milan; but unexpectedly Bianca's page, young Giulio, proves to be the Duke's son, and of course heir to the crown. Bianca overhears a conspiracy to assassinate her husband, as he lies asleep in the afternoon. Resolved to secure her husband's love at all hazards, she contrives to draw him away, and to manage that her brother shall take his place. Giulio is slain, mistaken by the assassin for Sforza. But according to history the last Duke Visconti had no other child but Bianca; the existence of Giulio, and his murder through the instrumentality of Bianca, are fictions. The plot proceeds. Bianca's reason is overthrown by remorse; but still she is determined that her husband shall have the crown. And the last thing she does is to place it upon his head. The facts are, that, after the death of old Visconti, the magistrates of Milan attempted to restore to their country her ancient liberties; that Sforza was employed by them at the head of the Milanese armies, and that they were finally compelled, being unable to maintain themselves against the dangers that were threatening them on every side, to elect Sforza duke; and he established his family accordingly in the sovereignty of Milan, where they maintained themselves for the greater part of two centuries. Now, whether the real facts of history are sufficient to form the

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basis of a drama, we do not know, having never made the attempt; but it is plain to us, that the poet has no right, in a case like the present, to put such a wholly wrong face upon history, as he has done here; and, in particular, that he has no right to attribute to Bianca Visconti a crime so horrible as consenting to the murder of her brother, merely to remove an obstacle from her husband's way to the throne.

But the drama is worked up with very great power. Some passages of it Mr. Willis has never surpassed. The short passage below, for instance, where Bianca gives vent to her feelings, when she is first told she is to be married to Sforza.

" *Bianca.* To marry Sforza !
My dream come true ! my long, long-cherished dream !
The star come out of heaven that I had worshipped !
The paradise I built with soaring fancy,
And filled with rapture, like a honey-bee,
Dropped from the clouds at last ! Am I awake ?
Am I awake, dear Giulio !
Page, (*half advancing to her.*) Noble Mistress !
Bianca. Thank God they speak to me ! It is no dream !
It was *this* hand my father took to tell me, —
It was with *these* lips that I tried to speak, —
It was *this* heart that beat its giddy prison
As if th' exulting joy new-sprung within it
Would out and fill the world ! . . . . .
. . . . . Wed him to-morrow !
So suddenly a wife ! Will it seem modest,
With but twelve hours of giddy preparation
To come a bride to church ? Will he remember
I was ten years ago affianced to him ?
I have had time to think on 't ! Oh, I 'll tell him, —
When I dare speak I 'll tell him, — how I 've loved him !
And day and night dreamed of him, and through all
The changing wars treasured the solemn troth
Broke by my father ! If he listens kindly,
I 'll tell how I fed my eyes upon him
In Venice at his triumph, — when he walked
Like a descended god beside the Doge,
Who thanked him for his victories, and the people,
From every roof and balcony, by thousands,
Shouted out, ' Sforza ! Live the gallant Sforza ! '
I was a child then, — but I felt my heart
Grow, in one hour, to woman ! " — pp. 165 – 167.

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And the following, when her dream of love is first rudely broken by the apparent indifference of Sforza.

"*Bianca.* Dost think this ring a pretty one, my Lord !
Sforza. Ay, 't is a pretty ring ! I have one here
Marancio gave me, — Giacomo Marancio.
The ring his wife sent, — but you 've heard the story ?
Bianca. I think I never heard it.
Sforza. She 's a woman
The heart grows but to speak of. She was held
A hostage by the Milanese, (I pray you
Pardon the mention,) when 'twixt them and me
Marancio held a pass. Her life was threatened
If by his means I crossed the Adige. She —
(Brave heart ! I warm to speak of her !) found means
To send to him this ring ; wherein is writ
' He who loves most, loves honor best.' You 'll see it
Here o' th' inside.
Bianca. Did you see this lady ?
Sforza. I hazarded a battle three days after
With perilous odds, only to bring her off, —
And would have sold my life for 't.
Bianca. Did you *see* her ?
Sforza. I gave her to Marancio when I took
The ring of him.
Bianca. My Lord ! speak you so warmly
Of any other woman ?
Sforza, (*rising and taking his helmet.*)
Nay, I know not.
There are some qualities that women have
Which are less worthy, but which warm us more
Than speaking of their virtues. I remember
The fair Giovanna in her pride at Naples.
Gods ! what a light enveloped her ! She left
Little to shine in history, — but her beauty
Was of that order that the universe
Seemed governed by her motion. Men looked on her
As if her next step would arrest the world ;
And as the sea-bird seems to rule the wave
He rides so buoyantly, all things around her, —
The glittering army, the spread gonfalon,
The pomp, the music, the bright sun in heaven, —
Seemed glorious by her leave.
Bianca, (*rising and going to the window.*)
There 's emulation
Of such sweet praise, my Lord ! Did you not hear

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The faint note of a nightingale ?
Sforza. More like
A far-heard clarion, methought ! They change
The sentinels perchance. 'T is time Rossano
Awaits me on the ramparts.
Bianca. Not to-night.
Go not abroad to-night, my Lord !
Sforza. For a brief hour, sweet ! The old soldier loves
To gossip of the fields he 's lost and won,
And I, no less, to listen. Get to bed !
I 'll follow you anon. [*Exit Sforza.*
Bianca. He does not love me !
I never dreamed of this ! To be his bride
Was all the heaven I looked for ! Not to love me
When I have been ten years affianced to him ! —
When I have lived for him, — shut up my heart,
With every pulse and hope, for his use only, —
Worshipped — O God ! idolatrously loved him !
. . . . . .
Why has he sought to marry me ? Why still
Renew the broken pledge my father made him ?
Why, for ten years, with war and policy,
Strive for my poor alliance ?
. . . . . He *must* love me,
Or I shall break my heart ! I never had
One other hope in life ! I never linked
One thought, but to this chain ! I have no blood, —
No breath, — no being, — separate from Sforza !
Nothing has any other name ! The sun
Shined like his smile, — the lightning was his glory, —
The night his sleep, and the hushed moon watched o'er
him ; —
Stars writ his name, — his breath hung on the flowers, —
Music had no voice but to say *I love him*,
And life no future, but his love for me !
Whom does he love ? Marancio's wife ? He praised
Only her courage ! Queen Giovanna's beauty ?
'T is dust these many years ! There is no sign
He loves another ; and report said ever
His *Glory* was his mistress. *Can* he love ?
Shame on the doubt ! 'T was written in the ring,
' He who loves *most* loves honor best,' — and Sforza
Is made too like a god to lack a heart.
And so, I breathe again ! To make him love me
Is all my life now ! to pry through his nature,

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And find his heart out. *That* 's wrapped in his glory !
I 'll feed his glory then ! He praised Giovanna
That she was royal and magnificent, —
Ay, — that 's well thought on too ! How should an eye,
Dazzled with war and warlike pomp like Sforza's,
Find pleasure in simplicity like mine !
(*Looks at her dress.*)
I 'm a Duke's daughter, and I 'll wear the look on 't !
Unlock my jewels and my costly robes,
And, while I keep his show-struck eye upon me,
Watch for a golden opportunity
To build up his renown !
. . . . . And so farewell
The gentle world I 've lived in ! Farewell all
My visions of a world for two hearts only, —
Sforza's and mine ! If I outlive this change,
So brief and yet so violent within me,
I 'll come back in my dreams, O childish world !
If not, — a broken heart blots out remembrance."
— pp. 186 – 191.

We give but one extract more.

" *Bianca.* They who love stillness follow us ! The brain
Grows giddy with the never-wearying dance,
And music's pause is sweet as its beginning.
Shut the doors, Giulio ! Sarpellione ! enter !
You 're welcome to Trophonius' cave ! We 'll hold
The Court of Silence, and I 'll play the Queen.
My brave Lord, you shall doff that serious air,
And be court favorite, — sit you at our feet !
Sforza. Too envious a place and office both !
I 'll sit here with Rossano. Honor's flower, —
That lifts a bold head in the world, — at court
Looks for the lily's hiding-place.
Sarpellione, (*aside.*) (What trick
Lies in this new humility.) The lily
Is lowly born, and knows its place, my Lord !
Bianca. Yet is it sought with pains while the rose withers !
Sarpellione. The rose lifts to the sun its flowering tree,
And all its parts are honored, — while the lily
Upon one fragrant stem rears all its beauty, —
And its coarse family of leaves are left
To lie on th' earth they cling to.
Sforza, (*to Rossano, with whom he has been conversing apart.*) (I 've sure news

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He was worse yesterday !)
(*Bianca rising with dignity, and descending from the ducal chair.*)
Bianca. Now, since the serpent
Misled our mother, never was fair truth
So subtly turned to error. If the rose
Were born a lily, and, by force of heart
And eagerness for light, grew tall and fair,
'T were a true type of the first fiery soul
That makes a low name honorable. They
Who take it by inheritance alone, —
Adding no brightness to it, — are like stars
Seen in the ocean, that were never there
But for the bright originals in Heaven !
Sarpellione, (*sneeringly.*)
Rest to the gallant soul of the *first* Sforza !
Bianca. Amen ! but triple glory to the second !
I have a brief tale for thine ear, Ambassador !
Sarpellione. I listen, Lady !
Bianca. Mark the moral, Sir !
An eagle once from the Euganean hills
Soared bravely to the sky. (*To Sforza.*) (Wilt please, my Lord,
List to my story ?) In his giddy track,
Scarce marked by them who gazed upon the first,
Followed a new-fledged eaglet, fast and well.
Upward they sped, and all eyes on their flight
Gazed with admiring awe, when, suddenly,
The parent bird, struck by a thunderbolt,
Dropped lifeless through the air. The eaglet paused,
And hung upon his wings ; and as his sire
Plashed in the far-down wave, men looked to see him
Flee to his nest affrighted !
Sforza, (*with great interest.*) Did he so ?
Bianca. My noble Lord, — he had a monarch's heart !
He wheeled a moment in mid air, and shook
Proudly his royal wings, and then right on,
With crest uplifted and unwavering flight,
Sped to the sun's eye, straight and gloriously.
Page. Lady, — is that true ?
Bianca. Ay, — men call those eagles
Sforza the First and Second ! " — pp. 203 - 206.

The passages we have given are sufficient to show our readers, that rare poetic and dramatic powers have been evinced by these two plays, and especially by the last. They

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will probably join with us in regretting, that the author has not taken more pains with his plot, in both instances; that he has not labored more upon completing the characters, upon making the transitions more gradual and natural; that he has not given the pieces that unity of spirit and impression, without which no drama, however poetical in single parts, can stand the test of cool criticism when the applauses of the theatre have died away. We are not at all prepared for the desperate crime of Bianca; almost up to the very moment of the fatal deed, she has appeared to us

"A perfect woman, nobly planned;"

and, when she sacrifices her brother's life, we experience a violent revulsion of feeling. The poet has wrenched the character from its natural bearings, and we are very unnaturally and undramatically shocked. The plot is not well *motivirt*, to borrow a word from German criticism. The springs of action are not well studied, and the drama, therefore, with all its merits and exquisite beauties, is not an organic whole; is not what the ancients required by their doctrine of the unities. But no man can read these pieces without acknowledging that Willis has a genius for the drama, which, if he is willing to pay the price, which the highest dramatic excellence demands, the price of long-continued study and labor, — the labor lavished by the sculptor and painter upon their immortal works, — will set him among the foremost, if not at the very head, of the dramatists of our age.

ART. VII. — *Report of the Secretary of War, November 30th, 1839, accompanying the President's Message to Congress, December 2d, 1839.* 26th Congress, 1st Session. Senate Documents, No. 1. 8vo. pp. 530.

THE document, which we have made the subject of our remarks, is the annual exhibit of the Secretary of War to the President of the United States, of the military condition of the country. It is probably not much read by the people at large. A general impression may prevail that it is too professional to be well understood. With those who look

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upon it with the appended reports, for the first time, this may be the case. To such, however, as are in the habit of reading, year by year, the documents on this subject, it becomes gradually familiar, and is easily comprehended in all its essential parts. Such a habit should undoubtedly pervade the whole community. Our *national defences* are of incalculable importance to every member of that community. They should be studied by every intelligent man as among the primary subjects that call for the attention of a true patriot. They embrace expenditures of great magnitude, and lead to results that are more permanent in their kind than almost any others that proceed from the administration of our government. This consideration should awaken reflection, and excite unusual interest. But it fails to do so. There is probably no subject which occupies the thoughts of a member of Congress, who takes his seat at Washington for the first time, so little as the provisions for national defence. One of the reasons may be, that State legislation, — the ordeal through which such members generally pass, — gives no experience in this respect. His want of acquaintance with them renders him dependent, *quoad hoc*, on any one who may be less ignorant than himself. He has some undefined notions of a proper distrust of all military institutions; this distrust arising from what he may have read of by-gone times, exhibiting the spectres of usurpation, oppression, and other evils, that sprung from unprincipled ambition, wielding the power of the sword. This feeling often interposes obstacles in the way of just, of necessary legislation. It occasionally prompts a maiden effort, as presenting one of the most ready themes for a declamatory *début*. And what has thus been said in an unguarded hour, in the hour of inexperience, merely as a flourish to open one's career, may be thereafter a rule of conduct, even against the dictates of more ripened judgment, from mistaken notions of consistency. Better knowledge in the outset, such as would be obtained from an annual examination of the War Department documents, would be useful in these cases both to the legislator and his constituents.

Our systems of national defence have had to encounter impediments, thrown in their way by ignorance, indifference, or prejudice, from the commencement of the government. We have had but two Presidents that promoted them with a zeal corresponding with their importance, namely, General

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Washington and Mr. Monroe. General Washington came out of the Revolution with lessons of experience deeply engraved on his mind. But the time was unpropitious for strong or expensive measures. Besides, the public leaned with a heavy weight against all military providence. The armour worn in the late struggle had been thrown off with impatience, as if all further necessity for using it had ceased. We stood in almost utter and defenceless nakedness for a few years. It was only when the savages, — still as unappeased as if the treaty of 1783 had never been ratified between Great Britain and the United States, — hung over our interior frontier with the uplifted tomahawk and scalping-knife, and had already drenched many a hearth among our border settlements with blood, that a most reluctant heed was given to his warnings, and a small measure of national defence was meted out for the common protection. The army that was raised was limited most scrupulously to the precise wants of the moment. Not a file was added in consideration of future exigencies, or to build up a system of national defence. The seaboard at the same time had scarcely a semblance of a fortification. Every port had been open during the Revolution, and the propriety of rendering them less accessible did not seem to suggest itself to Congress. Indeed, General Washington, with all his rich experience, weight of character, and great services, giving such force to his recommendations, could do little more, throughout his administration, than keep up a show of defence on the interior frontier, where British encroachments, and Indian threatenings, and actual barbarities, called for protection with a voice that would not be silenced.

The administration which followed, having the *quasi* French war to provide for, was able to make some advances in the way of maritime defence. But nothing like a system was adopted; and all expenditures on this account were scrutinized with severity, and opposed with obstinacy. Indeed, the administration appeared to grow weak as the nation assumed an attitude of strength. Hence every measure that helped to build up the country, by promoting its ability to resist invasion, and avert injuries upon the national honor or interests, seemed likely to pull down the administration of the government in the same proportion.

Mr. Jefferson's administration began on principles that

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warred strongly against any system of national defence. The party which carried him into power had been unfriendly to nearly every effort of the preceding administration, having for its object the support of such a system. Consistency called for an adherence to principles, which had been previously advocated with so much zeal, and which could not be abandoned, under the change of circumstances, without a just imputation of insincerity or vacillation. The army was reduced to a shadow,—a nominal force of about two thousand men. The injudicious concentration of the army of 1799 into "masses,"—the encampments at Oxford, Carlisle, and other interior places having no apparent or immediate bearing on the national defence,—may have contributed to raise the strong feeling that then existed against "a standing army." The navy was also reduced; each

> "tall anchoring bark
> Diminished to her cock."

Whether the character of the times justified this almost entire abandonment of self-defence, it is not our present purpose to inquire. We can hardly imagine a condition, however, which would authorize a nation to disarm itself, with a Quaker-like reliance on a non-combatant spirit throughout the world. Such a gentle spirit never yet has prevailed, and we have little ground for hoping that it is likely to prevail for generations yet to come. It was soon found to be so in the times we are referring to. All equivocal signs, all doubts of the hostile feelings of foreign countries, shortly disappeared. Angry bickerings strongly marked our diplomatic intercourse. Clouds gathered, and threatened a storm. It was evident, that the United States were not to prove an exception in the world's affairs. The common lot of nations belonged to them, though their situation was somewhat peculiar. Had they existed as a nation a century before, when maritime enterprise or maritime power was comparatively limited, the Atlantic might have been regarded as a barrier that would allow a domestic policy, having little reference to remote or European nations. But a new order of things had been introduced. Commerce had linked together far-separated shores; and navies, by their force, distribution, and prowess, spread dominion over the ocean, and made the trident as efficient at sea as the sceptre on land. The United States were soon convinced, that their position in another hemi-

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sphere did not exempt them from the necessity of being prepared to defend their rights, if they wished to have them respected.

Mr. Jefferson was a bold and ardent theorist. The severe collisions with European powers, and with the Barbary States, compelled him to depart from his pacific policy. With the latter, there being no alternative but offensive measures, these were resorted to with spirit and success. The naval prowess, exhibited before Tripoli, shed a brilliancy over his administration which had better suited that of his belligerent predecessor. But the difficulties with Great Britain seemed to admit a more peaceful remedy. We had a trade with her that was highly important. It was deemed probable, that she would rather abandon her system of "orders in council," her "impressment," &c. — the former infringing roughly on our commerce, the latter on our rights, — than lose our custom at her vast manufactories. It was an experiment to determine how far a nation could be brought to a sense of justice by an appeal to its pecuniary interests alone. Mr. Jefferson, in the sanguineness of his philanthropy, hoped so far to revolutionize the barbarous spirit of the age, as to make the *ultima ratio* of nations other than *bella*, *horrida bella*. If he had succeeded in establishing even one precedent in favor of this consummation so devoutly to be wished, his glory would have been as singular as elevated. But the experiment failed. The evil day would come. War was declared.

During the seeming delusion which preceded that event, when an opinion predominated that it might be averted, little preparation was, of course, made to meet it. The army had been somewhat augmented, and a few of the harbours were becoming fortified. This was done, however, rather to enforce the non-intercourse and embargo, than with a view to repel an enemy. And, when that enemy was designated by the declaration of war, had he, in the outset, manifested even ordinary enterprise in his offensive operations, there was not a city or town on our seaboard, that he might not have laid under contribution or destroyed. We were as vulnerable from head to foot as Achilles was in the heel. Efforts were made in the season of distress to remedy the evil. But while the storm is raging, the house cannot well be repaired. Fortifications could not be constructed under the batteries of hostile ships. Portsmouth, Boston, New York,

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and Charleston were, fortunately, respected by the enemy, who could have penetrated, with some sacrifice, into the heart of each. It was only his unbelief in our helplessness that protected us at these accessible points. He saw the shield, and supposed it to be of triple brass, when one thrust of his spear would have proved it as permeable as the untanned hide.

As soon as we escaped from this war, Mr. Monroe, who was a thoroughly practical man, resolved to seize the opportune moment, when its warning lessons were still fresh in the public mind, to establish a system of national defence. He well knew, as a tried soldier, that parts of it would require the labor of years to accomplish; while others might be the work of a season. His efforts were directed to preserve the army upon a footing commensurate with the wants of the extended frontier. In this he did not fully succeed. He regarded this, however, as a subordinate consideration. The navy was more easily enlarged, or a consent obtained to provide for its gradual enlargement. This was much. But armies and navies are a locomotive defence, and comparatively perishable. Our seaboard called for a permanent defence, such as every well-ordered, well-secured maritime nation possessed. Without fortifications, troops and vessels had but half their efficiency. Such fortifications Mr. Monroe deemed of primary importance. He traversed the whole Union to judge for himself. The whole ground came under his view. Not that he looked into details, or expected to comprehend them. These he left for abler or more professional hands. But he wished to speak from observation, though generally, on the subject. Furnished with reasons drawn from these various sources, he led to the establishment of a system of permanent defence of the whole maritime frontier, (founded on actual surveys of every part, and profound considerations of their connexion and relative importance,) that found support in a large majority of Congress. Appropriations were made that advanced each class of works, step by step, according to their claims for precedence, towards completion. This was an honorable era for the United States. It was marked by a course of legislation in respect to the national defence, that looked to the country, and the whole country; to the future as well as the present. The works thus projected called for large appropriations, which annually awakened an opposition from the uninstructed or the

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prejudiced. This opposition, however, was feeble and ineffectual. Our harbours gradually assumed an aspect of capability of strong defence. The large cities within their bosom began to look with confidence on these barriers around their wealth and prosperity, and to feel a security, in the event of war, against sudden and unexpected attacks.

We have formerly had occasion to speak of this system of fortifications in detail.* At this time we allude to it only to illustrate our remark, that only two Presidents have understood and promoted such a system, — General Washington most heartily but unsuccessfully, — Mr. Monroe with equal zeal and with triumphant success. But the latter could only establish the plan and begin the work. His successor carried it on, under the impulse it had received. Unfriendly feelings, however, were augmenting with each year, excited by the annual demand of new millions at each session of Congress, and occasionally acquiring great strength from signal errors in some of the engineers, which sometimes led to the waste of hundreds of thousands, before detection could arrest it. The *Pea Patch* long stood in the way of each appropriation, as a warning against confiding so large sums to miscalculation, carelessness, or ignorance, — all equally disastrous in their results. But just reasoning fortunately still prevailed. The harbours, gradually, grew stronger and more defensible with each year. An error in one part was not permitted to frustrate the whole plan. The valuable skill of the many was not discarded because of the deficiency of a few. Such errors were perhaps unavoidable, particularly in cases like the *Pea Patch*, where probably no plan of laying or forming a foundation, destined to sustain so heavy a superstructure, could combine with it a certainty of adequate strength.

These untoward circumstances often diminished the appropriations, and delayed the advance of the works ; but their progress towards completion was generally constant, until Mr. Cass, while in charge of the War Department, made his elaborate Report on the subject of our national defences, which was intended to show the inexpediency of pursuing the system established under Mr. Monroe, excepting in certain specified cases. This intention was fulfilled with great ingenuity, and an immediate reaction appeared to take place in the public mind. But this was not all. An attack

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XXIII. pp. 245 *et seq.*

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was made, in the same Report, on the propriety of having ended some of the principal works embraced in that system, particularly those at Old Point Comfort and at Newport, tending to weaken the confidence of the public in those most important parts of our national defence, and to warrant a belief that most of the money expended upon them had been uselessly, if not wastefully, applied.

We have not space to examine fully these military heresies, though we cannot permit them to pass without a few animadversions, as they come from high authority, had much influence over public opinion at the time, and may still injuriously affect the progress of our fortifications. It is well known that the late Secretary of War has a strong and quick mind, enabling him to comprehend most subjects with unusual promptitude. A mere glance with him is often more than a deliberate survey with others. But there are some subjects, the full understanding of which depends so much upon experience, laborious calculation, and a long and minute examination of all their bearings, that those intuitive minds are often baffled, and left to random and specious conjectures. The critical remarks of the late Secretary of War, on the works at Old Point Comfort, show that he regarded them under one phasis only, when they present others that equally claimed his observation. He appears to have considered them as intended only to exclude an enemy from the country, who, he says, would turn aside from such a strong point, and thrust himself in at other accessible quarters, which are found above and below on the coast. Old Point Comfort, he admits, should be fortified, but only by a work that would resist a *coup de main*, not by one, like that which is now there, that embraces "about sixty-three acres" (to use the Secretary's own descriptive language).

Those who have only a slight recollection of the many strong reasons urged by the Board of Engineers, which digested this system of maritime fortifications, will bear distinctly in mind, that the "occlusion of this roadstead," that is, the exclusion of the enemy from it in time of war, was but a subordinate object among the many comprehended in the plan. Notwithstanding all the warnings of the approach of war, commercial enterprise or cupidity urges its efforts up to the last moment of safety, and the declaration can never take place in such a country as ours without finding, probably,

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millions of property still afloat on the ocean. The reason may be, that profit increases with the danger. This, combined with the never-failing hope that peace may yet prevail, leaves an interest upon the high seas of an enormous amount at the breaking out of hostilities, calling for all such protection, or means of escape, as a government can bestow. Such protection could not be afforded by any naval force, as no system of convoys would be established at that early and perhaps unlooked-for season of trouble. Harbours of refuge alone can be effectual. Known to be ever open and in readiness to shelter all that claim security within them, they are the points to which the flying vessels, having snuffed the scent of danger afar off, direct their course. In arranging a system of maritime defence, not to have carefully provided such harbours, would have been a neglect, alike discreditable to the projectors, and injurious to the country. It was almost a primary consideration with the Board of Engineers. And yet the Report we are alluding to makes scarcely a mention of this object. It says, that no enemy would sit down before Fort Monroe, which it would cost much time and blood to besiege, when his purpose could be fulfilled by entering many other places on the Chesapeake. And this suggests a sufficient reason for having substituted for that work a small one, that would resist a *coup de main*, or preserve the place from hostile occupation. Little apprehension is entertained that Fort Monroe or Fort Calhoun will be besieged; not that they are impregnable, particularly the first, against which regular approaches can be made. But a regular siege consumes many days, during which relief could always be afforded.

There was a double object in constructing these works. They were intended to mount a battery sufficient to command the entrance of the Roads, and to combine a strength — not a strength for merely resisting a *coup de main*, which might be found in a blockhouse, but such as should discourage all attempts at a siege. The Report says, that no enemy would deem it worth while to conquer Fort Monroe, when he could penetrate the country at other undefended points. If the object were merely to detroy a few towns, or lay them under contribution, or to make predatory incursions beyond the coast, we might readily admit, that the fortifications we have been erecting at so much expense, would be left to waste their strength in harmless distance. But

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we may suppose a higher object in such a case. We may easily suppose that an enemy, powerful and enterprising, wishing to distress us in the highest degree at the opening of hostilities, would look to the possession of Hampton Roads as more likely to enable him to do so than any other attainable object. He might well expend much blood and treasure to obtain this possession, which, at certain seasons of the year, is the only certain harbour of refuge on the coast, as it would probably throw into his hands an amount of property, that would many times counterbalance the cost of the acquisition; besides the immense loss that would result to the other side, — a loss, we doubt not, that would equal the expense of constructing these important works, which are intended to avert such a disastrous event. It is inferable from this Report, that the late Secretary, if it were in his power, would undo, in a great measure, what has been done, both at Old Point Comfort and at Newport. Fortunately, — very fortunately, we think, — for the country, these cardinal parts of our system of maritime defence were too nearly completed to be affected by a condemnation, even in so high a quarter. Neither the present nor future generations can be deprived of the incalculable benefits that may, in the hour of war or danger, — and they are directly beneficial at no other time, — arise from their construction.

We cannot refrain from dwelling yet a moment longer on the apparent attempt to measure the utility of Fort Monroe, as a surveyor would a lot of land, by its number of acres. Fort Monroe is a large work, and may be even larger than any single work in Europe, as the Report states; though we see nothing in this comparison to prove that the American work is *too* large. It does not occur to us that there is any one work in Europe that is of equal national importance. But we doubt whether the Board of Engineers directed any inquiries to this point. It undoubtedly looked alone to the importance of the place to be defended, and to the number of guns required for such a purpose, and planned the work accordingly, without any reference to transatlantic precedents. The proposed armament of Forts Monroe and Calhoun is said to amount to about 650 guns, hardly two thirds of them intended for the former work. This would be the armament of several line-of-battle ships, and may not be thought excessive for the security of a roadstead

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of such primary importance. The calculation could not, of course, be precise. It was proper to adopt a liberal maximum. Having determined the number of guns, the next step would be to dispose of them. In this case, it was determined to arrange them in two tiers, a greater number being objectionable on many obvious accounts. These guns, in a work like Fort Monroe, must necessarily be on one or two faces, — those which command the water. Enclosing the rear, or connecting the front batteries by a secure wall, was a subordinate part of the operation, but to be done according to fixed principles of engineering. This rear wall could not be run across over the shortest line, in order to diminish the number of acres to be included in the area. It must conform to certain angular prolongations, necessary to give it a defensible character. Fort Monroe thus came to embrace "sixty-three," or more "acres"; nevertheless, we may be permitted to regard it as a work that has no excess of armament, nor any unnecessary space within its walls. The great purpose for which it was constructed, — a purpose placing it far higher in the scale of importance than Gibraltar, with which, in point of "acres," it is compared in this Report, — demanded "ample room and verge enough" for these heavy batteries, and for the twenty-seven hundred men, who are to garrison it in time of war. This complement includes the men at the guns, and a thousand, or more, to spare for emergencies, to defend the rear walls, &c.

We have, perhaps somewhat out of season, made these remarks on this famous, and, in many of its parts, most excellent Report of the late Secretary of War, because we feel a conviction (felt at the time it came out), that it is a document, in other parts, of the most injurious tendency of any that has come from the War Department since its establishment. Mr. Calhoun, we are persuaded, will ever be regarded as a benefactor to his country, for lending the efforts of his strong mind to establish the present system of fortifications. No system of such magnitude, and embracing such a vast variety of ramifications, could be supposed to obtain universal assent. The present system was founded on actual and minute surveys, and after a most deliberate and able consideration of all its bearings and objects; and the public was satisfied that good reasons, such as an accomplished board of engineers concluded to be sufficient, had led to

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its recommendation and adoption. All that remained was to fulfil the plan as fast as the resources of the country admitted; occasionally modifying its details, or parts, as new or unlooked-for circumstances demanded or warranted. Such circumstances occurred with respect to one of the classes of the fortifications, which could be so properly superseded by steam-batteries, brought into use since the Board finished its labors. If the Report had confined its recommendations to modifications like these, it would have received the approbation of all reflecting men. But, at a time when our foreign relations were growing more threatening, and our seaboard called for renewed exertions to strengthen its defences, this Report seemed to throw a doubt over the propriety of past expenditures, and unsettled much of the system for the future. Congress now proceeds with each appropriation reluctantly and doubtingly. It will be some time before a general impression can prevail, that we still have a system, which justifies the public confidence, and which, if carried out, will place the nation in a condition of comparative, if not positive, respectability and security.

When our harbours shall once be adequately protected by fortifications, more than half the battle will be fought. Garrisons are raised up with comparative facility. While forts, such as are suited to coast defence, are the result only of many years' labor, troops, of more or less competency, may be formed, if not with the promptitude of Cadmus, at least in a comparatively brief time. Let the armour be prepared, and those who may wear it will always be found.

The Report of the present Secretary of War is an important document on this subject. Mr. Poinsett has administered his department with great zeal. All his energies have been devoted to the advancement of the important interests confided to his care. He has a true military spirit, and has had some military experience. Perhaps the latter has led him, occasionally, to rely too much on himself, and less on the experience of others within his reach, than would have been expedient. We are led to think so from the failure of several of his prominent suggestions, which have generally proposed changes too abrupt, new, or extreme, to be successful. Much has been done by him, however, and more may still be expected from his active mind. By the Report we are now referring to, it appears that he has personally

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examined many of the harbours, and he sums up his observations in this strong language, which should awaken a solicitude, and even alarm, throughout the whole country. "They," (the defences of our maritime frontier,) he says, "were found, as had been before stated, unfinished, unarmed, and totally inadequate to protect the harbours they are intended to guard from attacks of a comparatively small force." Again he says, "Our principal cities on the seaboard are at this time exposed to be laid under contribution, and our navy-yards to be destroyed without the possibility of defending them." If we could believe this to be true in its full extent, we should think the condition of the country deplorable indeed. We trust, however, that his language is unintentionally exaggerated. Indeed, we feel sure that it is unwarrantably strong. But what deserves our unreserved belief is enough to startle every mind, anxious for the welfare and honor of the country.

What is at this time, or what was at the time the Report was made, the condition of our harbour fortifications? The Report says, that, "when the works now in progress in Boston harbour are finished, that place will be perfectly secure." This does not inform us at what stage in this progress these works are. It would have been satisfactory to know how far they have advanced, though we believe that one of the old works, which has been extensively repaired, is in a good condition for defence. Portsmouth is said to be "entirely defenceless." We are aware, that Fort Constitution at that place is an old and imperfect work. Still, we think, with a proper garrison and a proper armament (and we presume it has its old armament at hand), the place would not be entirely defenceless. With no better defence, it was unassailed during the last war. "Pensacola is exposed,"—we still quote the Report, — "and the important city and harbour of New York are still indifferently protected, and will remain so even after all the works now in progress shall be completed and armed." "Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Savannah, and the ports in the Gulf, all require further protection."

Under the system of fortifications established in Mr. Monroe's time, many works have been constructed, the most important of which are at Old Point Comfort, at Newport, at or near Mobile, at New York, and in the neighbourhood of New Orleans. Other works have been constructed in North

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Carolina, near Philadelphia (though the Pea Patch work has proved a failure), and at Savannah. Others may also be in progress. Thus, starting from the northeastern angle of the coast, we have Eastport, Portland, and some other places in Maine, and Portsmouth in New Hampshire, with their old works, which, with proper garrisons, would, at least, keep up a show of defence. They did little more the last war, but most of them with good effect. We have before remarked on the condition of Boston. None of these places are properly fortified, but all of them could be put in an attitude of defence. They are now as open as a common highway. Give each of them a garrison, and their situation would be widely different. They all, no doubt, have their old armaments. Let there be troops to man them, and none of them would be "exposed to be laid under contribution," nor would the "navy-yard" at Boston "be without the possibility of being defended." We can hardly believe the fact as we record it, that not one of these places has had a garrison since the Florida war began.

New York is a vast portal, which opens into an interior of incalculable wealth. It moreover commands a river, which sends the tide waters some hundred and fifty miles into that interior. Much has been done to render this portal inaccessible, and, when the works on Throggs-neck are finished, it may be considered as capable of making a good defence; though the Narrows can never be looked upon as sufficiently secure until a proper work be constructed on Staten Island, the works that are now there not deserving the least regard. New York is, therefore, without its proper, its essential, permanent defence. It could, however, be made comparatively safe by a suitable garrison. During the last few years it has been nearly denuded of troops. Flitting garrisons have occasionally occupied the forts; but, like birds of passage, they have waited only the coming of autumn to seek the south. It will scarcely be credited, that one of these forts, with a full armament, has been for some time past, — we will not say how long, — confided to one man; while the main work, overlooking it, and both standing, as it were, on the outer wall, has had little more of the *personnel de guerre*. Has there been an overruling necessity, during all this time, of leaving this primary mart of our country in such weak condition, — so weak, that when a foreign vessel of war passes in

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or out, and proposes an exchange of salutes, the compliment often cannot be accepted? With the rapacious war of Florida in mind, one can hardly answer this question satisfactorily. Every object proposed by that war, if attained an hundred fold, could not counterbalance the deep injury, and the deeper disgrace, of such a hostile occupation of the defences of that great city, as could at any moment be made, while they remain as they now are, and have been for some time past. These defences should never be one day without a garrison.

Philadelphia is better defended by her interior position. So is Baltimore. Either could probably throw into the works in its vicinity a force from its own population, before danger stood at its door. Not so Old Point Comfort. This work, — the first in size and importance on our coast, — is, and has been for some time, nearly as defenceless and accessible as any "sixty-three acre" farm in its vicinity. North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mobile, New Orleans, — all have been stripped of their garrisons in the same manner as the more northern parts of the Union. Florida has been the Aaron's rod, which has swallowed up every thing.

We have confined ourselves, in these remarks, to the subject of works for the defence of the Atlantic coast. The manner of garrisoning such works, and the best disposition of the few regiments of the standing army in time of peace, present questions which we may find another opportunity to treat. The plan presented in the recent Report of the Secretary of War to the House of Representatives, on the reorganization of the militia, has important relations to the whole subject. That Report is under debate while we are writing; and, for the discussion of its merits simply in the light of a scheme for an efficient national defence, we prefer to take a time when it will be more free, than it now is, from connexion with the policy of conflicting parties.

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ART. VIII. — *Crania Americana; or a Comparative View of the Skulls of Various Aboriginal Nations of North and South America; to which is prefixed an Essay on the Varieties of the Human Species. Illustrated with Seventy-eight Plates and a colored Map.* By SAMUEL GEORGE MORTON, M. D., &c. Philadelphia: J. Dobson, Chestnut Street. London: Simpkins, Marshall, & Co. 1839. folio. pp. 296.

THE "Crania Americana" constitutes by far the most valuable addition, which has been made to the natural history of man since the learned and philosophical works of Blumenbach and Prichard. Enjoying rare opportunities for the pursuit of the study to which he has devoted himself with so much zeal and industry, Dr. Morton has furnished the scientific world with results of his labors, which are alike honorable to American science and to his own high and well-earned reputation. The work, however, has not been given to the public without having met with obstacles, which could have been overcome only by unwearied perseverance. No labor or expense has been spared to render it worthy of the subject. "Many of the plates have been drawn the second and the third time; and in several instances the entire edition has been cancelled, in order to correct inaccuracies which had previously escaped observation."

Although the object of the work is to give a comparative view of the skulls of various aboriginal nations of North and South America, there has been prefixed an introductory Essay, in which all the great varieties of the human species are accurately described. The chief merit of the treatise, however, as we think, rests upon the descriptions of the American variety and the deductions drawn from it; we shall, therefore, confine our remarks almost entirely to that portion.

We cannot pass by, without notice, the remarks of our author on the characteristic conformation of the ancient Egyptians, and on the supposed affinity between them and the Negroes.* Volney was of an opinion, that the two races were identical; and this view has been seized upon with avidity in more recent times, in order to place the African race

* See page 29, *et seq.*, note.

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in a different position from that which it is usually considered to occupy. The advocates of these opinions appeal to the writings of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus in support of their views.

"Another point much insisted on is the following. Herodotus, speaking of the Colchians, says, that the Egyptians believed them 'to be descended from the troops of Sesostris.' He then adds, 'To this I was myself inclined, because they are black, and have hair short and curling.'" — p. 29, *note.*

Volney, looking upon the celebrated Sphinx, "hastily inferred from its flat features and bushy hair, that the Egyptians were real negroes;" obviously thinking, that if they worshipped a form which had the features of a negro, these same features must have characterized the people from whom the homage came. It is still further urged, that we often find depicted, on the ancient monuments and coffins, unequivocal representations of the African race.

On the other hand, we believe with Dr. Morton, that the evidence which is adduced in favor of the opinion, that the two races are radically different, is incontrovertible. The argument drawn from the configuration of the Sphinx, says Dr. Morton,

"have no weight when we recur to the fact, that the Buddhists of Asia (the most numerous sect in existence) represent their principal god with negro features and hair, and often sculptured in black marble; yet, among the three hundred millions who worship Buddha, there is not perhaps a solitary negro nation." — *Ibid.*

An argument in support of this side of the question, which we think would be alone amply sufficient to settle the point at issue, is that drawn from the millions of human bodies which were embalmed and buried in the Theban catacombs.

"Here are the very people who walked the streets of Thebes, they who built Luxor and the pyramids; and yet among the thousands, whose bodies curiosity and avarice have dragged from their tombs, I am not aware that a solitary negro has been discovered." — *Ibid.*

No unprejudiced person, who will take the trouble to compare the cranium of the ancient Egyptian with that of the Ethiopian, will, we are confident, for a moment contend, that they belonged to one and the same race of men.

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"I have examined," says Cuvier, "in Paris and in various collections in Europe, more than fifty heads of mummies, and not one of them presented the characters of the negro or Hottentot. There is a remarkable resemblance among the innumerable heads sculptured on the temples of the Nile; and one who is accustomed to examine them, becomes so familiar with the Egyptian physiognomy, that, when other races are introduced, as the Jews and Negroes, the eye can mostly detect them. There is also a singular accordance in conformation between the sculptured heads and the real ones taken from the Theban catacombs. Two prominent varieties are discernible in each; one of these has the rather low and narrow forehead, while the other presents the full developement of the Caucasian head." — p. 27.

From the strong contrast which is shown to exist in the pictorial representations of these two races on ancient temples and tombs, it would appear, that "they were as distinct in that country three thousand years ago as at the present time."

Passing over what relates to the other races, we shall, before proceeding to notice the principal subject of the work, offer a few remarks on the American race, comprising the aboriginal inhabitants of the whole American continent. The American race is divided by Dr. Morton into two great families, one of which, designated as the *Toltecan*, had advanced to a state of demicivilization, as indicated by their architectural remains and the extent to which they carried the useful arts; the other embraced all the barbarous races of the new world, excluding, however, the Polar tribes or Mongol-Americans, inhabiting north of the 57th degree of latitude. The American family is subdivided into several subordinate groups or branches, which are arranged under the following heads.* First, the *Appalachian Branch*, including all the nations of North America, except the Mexicans, together with the tribes north of the river Amazon and east of the Andes. Second, the *Brazilian Branch*, whose geographical position may be indicated in general terms, as embraced between the rivers Amazon and La Plata, and between the Andes and the Atlantic. Third, the *Patagonian Branch*, which group includes the nations south of the La Plata to the Straits of Magellan, and the mountain tribes of Chili. Last-

* Page 64.

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ly, the *Fuegians*, inhabiting Terra del Fuego, and usually called *Patagonians*, from whom, however, they are obviously distinct.

"In the Toltecan groups are embraced the civilized nations of Mexico, Peru, and Bogotá, extending from the Rio Gila, in the thirty-third degree of north latitude, along the western margin of the continent, to the frontiers of Chili. In North America, however, the people of this family spread from ocean to ocean, through the present intendencies of Mexico, Vera Cruz, Puebla, Oaxaca, Guatimala, Yucatan, Nicaragua, &c. In South America it was confined between the Andes and Pacific Ocean, its southern limit being the great desert of Atacama.

"In assigning geographical limits to the Toltecan family, it is not to be supposed that they alone inhabited this extended region; for, while successive nations of that family held dominion over it for thousands of years, other and barbarous tribes were everywhere dispersed through the country, and, whether of aboriginal or exotic origin, may have at all times contributed a large part of the population. During these periods of power and greatness, an organized feudal system divided the nation into two great classes of nobles and plebeians; and there appears to have been as much objection to the amalgamation of these classes as ever existed in an aristocratic state of Europe.

"It is in the intellectual faculties, that we discover a great difference between the Toltecan and American families. In the arts and sciences of the former we see the evidences of an advanced civilization. From the Rio Gila in California, to the southern extremity of Peru, their architectural remains are everywhere encountered, to surprise the traveller, and confound the antiquary; among these are pyramids, temples, grottoes, bas-reliefs, and arabesques; while their roads, aqueducts, and fortifications, and the sites of their mining operations, sufficiently attest their attainments in the practical arts of life."—pp. 83, 84.

The Toltecan race seems to have borne a relation to the different American groups, somewhat similar to that sustained by the ancient Egyptians to the rest of the then civilized world, and like them to have been unequalled in the useful arts. We have never ceased to wonder, while looking upon a collection of ancient Peruvian mummies, now in Boston, which give ample evidence of having belonged to a race of men, who had attained to no small advancement in

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the useful arts of life. The implements of domestic industry, with which they were surrounded, seemed at once to carry us back to the family circle ; — needles and thread ; spindles, on which the marks of use are still obvious, though centuries have passed since they were deposited in the earth with those whom they served ; a work-basket, well supplied with needles and yarn, both of which would compare well with those found in the hands of modern ladies, enjoying as they do the advantages of modern art. There, too, were articles of the toilet, — combs, which, with broken teeth and entangled hair, gave evidence of faithful service, and a goodly supply of cosmetics, showing, that even they were by no means insensible to personal attractions. The texture of the cloth with which they were surrounded, and the richness and variety of colors with which it was dyed, seemed to equal, if not exceed, any which we have seen from the remains of the ancient Egyptians. The bows and arrows of the deceased, the plentiful supply of corn and other necessaries of life, would seem to be preparations for that new and unseen state of existence, which it appears they believed awaited all. It is matter of doubt, to what extent the process of embalming was carried by the ancient Peruvians. It is altogether probable, that they depended, almost altogether, upon the arid state of the climate, and the antiseptic properties of the salts with which the soil is impregnated.

"The arid region of Atacama was the favorite sepulchre of the Peruvian nations for successive ages ; for, while the climate tends rather to the desiccation, than the decay, of the dead, the mixed sand and salt of the desert have contributed to the same end ; and the lifeless bodies of whole generations of the former inhabitants of Peru may now be examined, like those from the Theban catacombs, after the lapse of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years. The great number of the dead, thus remaining in Peru, has been a subject of surprise to all travellers, and serves to convey an idea of the vast population that has, at different periods, derived its subsistence from that country." — p. 96.

We hope, that, ere long, attempts will be made to explore the remains of this ancient and interesting race, promising, as they do, a rich harvest to him who would enter upon a fruitful, and as yet almost unbroken field.

For describing the cranial peculiarities of the American

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Indians, as we have already intimated, Dr. Morton has enjoyed rare opportunities, having had access to a larger number of skulls of the different races of the two Americas, than has hitherto fallen to the lot of any one individual. He gives the anatomical characters, as well as accurate and careful measurements, of one hundred and forty-seven different specimens, seventy-two of which are carefully figured of the natural size. In connexion with them, we have interesting details of the history and habits of many of the races to which they belonged.

The crania from Peru and Mexico, and those from the numerous *tumuli* scattered through the Western and South-western States, belonging to races remarkable for the advances which they had made in civilization, particularly deserve our attention.

Commencing with the Peruvians, we are at once struck with the existence of two conformations, entirely distinct in their characters, which, with the aid of historical evidence, we are justified in referring to races who held, in turn, undivided sway over the territory where we now find their remains, and who had arrived at a far greater perfection in the arts, than any other nation inhabiting the American continent. So abundant were the remains of the Peruvians in the latter part of the seventeenth century, that Wafer tells us, that when he visited the town of Vermejo, in 1687, he found the whole neighbourhood of the town strewed with desiccated bodies, and, as he says, a man might walk for the distance of a mile and a half, and tread upon them at every step. Though a century and a half have elapsed since this traveller visited these regions, and although vast numbers of these remains must have been scattered to the winds, by exposure to the elements, or by the equally destructive curiosity and cupidity of man, yet we have sufficient evidence, that relics of this interesting race exist, even at the present time, in vast numbers. We have already alluded to a whole family of ancient Peruvian mummies now existing in Boston, which were exhumed from an extensive cemetery at Arica. Aware of these circumstances, Dr. Morton had long wished to procure a series of Peruvian crania, and ascertain, if possible, if there was any evidence of the existence of more than one great family. In pursuing this inquiry, he was so fortunate as to have the examination, in his own and other collections,

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of nearly one hundred different Peruvian skulls. The result of his researches is, that there existed, as has already been stated, two races, characterized by entirely different conformations. These races, for reasons which we shall presently see, he denominates *Ancient* and *Modern* Peruvians; the first holding dominion over the country till invaded by the Incas, and the second, or Inca race, still retaining possession when it was first visited by the Spaniards. The ancient race had then become extinct, or merged in that of their conquerors, and their monumental remains and cemeteries afford us almost the only records of their history.

"Let us now glean, from the few sources that are open to us, what can be discovered of the physical and intellectual character of these people, their history and tradition.

"Our knowledge of their physical appearance is derived solely from their tombs. In stature they appear not to have been, in any respect, remarkable, nor to have differed from the cognate nations except in the conformation of the head, which is small, greatly elongated, narrow its whole length, with a very retreating forehead, and possessing more symmetry than is usual in the skulls of the American race. The face projects; the upper jaw is thrust forwards; and the teeth are inclined outward. The orbits of the eyes are large and rounded, the nasal bones salient, the zygomatic arches expanded; and there is a remarkable simplicity in the sutures, that connected the bones of the cranium." — pp. 97, 98.

It is only by a reference to the plates which accompany this work, or by an examination of specimens themselves, that we are enabled to form a just conception of this strange conformation of the skull. The great length of the head from before backwards, and the low and retreating forehead, would lead us to suppose, that these peculiarities were, in a great measure, artificial. But Dr. Morton thinks, that the cranium, which he has figured on the fourth plate as an illustrative type of the cranial peculiarities of this people, presents no marks of mechanical compression, and is unaltered by art; the same may be said of nearly all the others which have fallen under his observation.

"It must almost invariably happen, that when the forehead of a naturally-rounded head has been much compressed by art, the back and lateral parts of the cranium become proportionally expanded, in order to make room for the brain that has

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been displaced from the anterior chamber. Thus, among all the specimens I have seen of this deformity, from the tribes on the Columbia river, the ancient inhabitants of Venezuela, the Charibs of the Antilles, and some tribes of Peruvians, I have met with no exceptions to this rule. All these nations have, naturally, spheroidal heads, and the result of mechanical pressure is such as above described ; a point on which the reader can judge for himself by comparing the illustrations in various parts of this work. Now the heads of these ancient Peruvians seldom present such lateral expansion, but, on the contrary, are as remarkable for their narrowness as for their length. In fact, their low facial angle, their sloping forehead, and their protruding face, might lead to a suspicion of a Negro origin, were it not for the unanswerable evidence derived from the texture of the hair. This is uniformly long and lank, and appears to have been worn at full length by both sexes, and its natural blackness is preserved notwithstanding centuries of inhumation. I am free to admit, that the naturally elongated heads of these people were often rendered more so by the intervention of art, but such examples are, for the most part, readily detected. It is a feature, both of civilized and savage communities, to admire their own national characteristics above all others, and hence, where nature has denied an imaginary grace, art is called in to supply the deficiency ; and, even where there has been no such deficiency, human vanity prompts to extravagance. Thus, I have seen some skulls of this race, which must have been naturally very low and long ; yet, in order to exaggerate a feature which was considered beautiful, compression has been applied, till the whole head has assumed more of the character of the monkey than of man." — p. 98.

What surprises us, more than all else, is, that a people with heads so small and badly formed, should have possessed other than a low degree of intelligence. For, whatever may be the views entertained with regard to the truth of the doctrine of the phrenologists, we are not apt to attribute a high degree of mental capacity to heads of an *anti-Caucasian* formation. Yet we have the strongest evidence, that the extraordinary skulls we are now considering belonged to a race, whose monumental remains still excite wonder and admiration.

Pedro de Cieca, an officer in the army of Pizarro, describing the town of Tiaguanico, its edifices, monuments, and gateways, speaks of them as follows ;

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"What most surprised me, while engaged in examining and recording these things, was, that the above enormous gateways were formed on other great masses of stone, some of which were thirty feet long, fifteen feet wide, and six feet thick. Nor can I conceive, with what tools or instruments these stones were hewn out; for it is obvious, that, before they were wrought and brought to perfection, they must have been vastly larger than we now see them. Before I proceed to a further account of Tiaguanico, I must remark, that this monument is the most ancient in Peru; for it is supposed, that these structures *were built long before the dominion of the Incas*, and I have heard the Indians affirm, that these sovereigns constructed their great buildings in Cuzco after the plan of the walls of Tiaguanico, and they add, that the first Incas were accustomed to hold their court in this place. Another very curious fact is, that, in the greater part of this territory, there are no quarries nor rocks, whence the materials of these structures could have been derived." — p. 99.

These accounts, and many others, of Pedro de Cieca are confirmed by subsequent writers. The Peruvians themselves attributed these structures to a period long anterior to the accession of the Incas; for we are informed by tra ditionary history, that Tiaguanico did not fall into their hands until the reign of Mayta Yupanque, the fourth king, at which period the edifices in question must have been in existence for a long series of years, as they were then in a state of ruin and decay. Garcilaso de la Vega, himself a descendant of the royal Peruvians, admits, that these structures existed long before the conquest of the country by his ancestors. The innumerable tombs and monuments of similar Cyclopean dimensions, with which the country abounds, invariably contained those remarkable crania of which we have already spoken.

From what has been stated above, some idea may be formed, both regarding the physical characters of the ancient Peruvians, and the advances which they had made in the arts of civilization. Having existed for centuries in a state of comparative splendor, they were at length brought under the dominion of another race, the Incas, or Modern Peruvians, who were in power when the Spaniards first visited the country.

Much obscurity hangs around the origin of the Incas in Peru. Their own fabulous traditions refer the origin of

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their monarchy to Manco Capac, and Coya Mama, who was both his sister and his wife. Children of the Sun, they made their descent on the Island of Titicaca, and at once set to work to reform the institutions of the country; and, by the artful management of these personages and their descendants, the whole country was at length brought under their despotic sway. Sufficient proof exists, however, that Peru was subdued by the physical force of victorious armies of numbers, and not by the artful intrigue of a few. Who these strangers probably were, may be gathered from the following passages.

"The Toltecas, the most civilized nation of ancient Mexico, after governing that country for four centuries, suddenly abandoned it about the year 1050 of our era." The Mexican annalists state, "that during the reign of their last prince, a series of calamities gave a fatal blow to their prosperity and power. 'For several years heaven denied them the necessary showers to their fields, and the earth the fruits that supported them. The air, infected by mortal contagion, filled daily the graves with the dead and the minds of those surviving with consternation at the destruction of their countrymen. A great part of the nation died by famine and sickness, and the wretched remains of this people, willing to save themselves from the common calamity, sought timely relief to their misfortunes in other countries.'* The historian then adds, that the Toltecas migrated in large bodies to various parts of the continent, and extended themselves as far south as Yucatan; and so complete was the dispersion of this people, that the land of Anahuac (the ancient name of Mexico) remained solitary and depopulated for nearly a century." — p. 113.

It is rendered probable, that the Toltecas made their way into Peru and took possession of it at this time, and that from them the race of Incas had their origin. For the latter date their possession of the country from this very period of the migration of the Toltecas, namely, about the eleventh century of our era. This conclusion is still further supported by the fact of the great similarity in the characters of the Toltecan and modern Peruvian races, and by the evidence derived from a similarity in the conformation of their crania, which we next proceed to notice; a conformation strangely contrasted with that of the ancient race of which we have heretofore spoken.

"* Clavigero, *Hist. Mexico*, Vol. I. p. 118."

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"The skull in these people is remarkable for its small size, and also for its quadrangular form. The occiput is greatly compressed, sometimes absolutely vertical; the sides are swelled out, and the forehead is somewhat elevated but very retreating. The capacity of the cavity of the cranium, derived from the measurement of many specimens of the pure Inca race, shows, as we shall see hereafter, a singularly small cerebral mass for an intelligent and civilized people. Their heads are remarkable not only for their smallness, but also for their irregularity; for, in the whole series in my collection, there is but one that can be called symmetrical. This irregularity chiefly consists in the greater projection of the occiput to the one side than to the other, showing in some instances a surprising degree of deformity."

"I am convinced, that among the collection of Peruvian skulls alluded to above, there is not one that has been designedly moulded by art; and hence it may be reasonably inferred, that individuals forming the royal race, or those forming the higher classes among the Peruvians, seldom or never flattened their heads. What to them was natural, was imitated by the inferior orders, and especially, it may be conjectured, by the inhabitants of conquered provinces and others, whose heads may not have been originally formed on the aristocratic model." — p. 115.

The Incas, or the nobility, were ever kept distinct from the plebeian orders, and to them was reserved all the power and dignity of which the kingdom could boast. Arts and sciences were cultivated by them, although the latter existed in a rude condition. Astronomy had made with them some progress, but they were in this respect behind the Mexicans. In architecture their advancement, indeed, was surprising; and, like the ancient Egyptians, they seem to have been determined to erect structures, which should attest to future generations their power, industry, and skill. Their ingenuity was also evinced in the success with which they wrought precious stones; even emeralds, says Ulloa, were wrought into various shapes, and drilled through with all the delicacy of our European artists. Magnificent remains of roads still remain, evidences of the constructive talent of the Incas. Humboldt thus notices one of these, in his journey across the plains of Assuay.

"We were surprised to find in this place, and at heights which greatly surpass the top of the peak of the Teneriffe, the magnificent remains of a road constructed by the Incas of Peru.

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This causeway lined with freestone, may be compared to the finest Roman roads I have seen in Italy, France, or Spain. It is perfectly straight, and keeps the same direction for six or eight thousand metres. We observed the continuation of this road near Caxamarca, one hundred and twenty leagues to the south of Assuay ; and it is believed in the country that it went as far as the city of Cuzco."—p. 120.

Their religion was free from those barbarous practices and bloody rites, which were so common with the Mexicans. They believed in the existence of a Supreme Ruler, and in the immortality of the soul, and regarded the future state as one of rewards and punishments. The sun and moon, with the stars, which they esteemed servants and handmaids of these great luminaries, were objects of adoration and homage, and in their honor they erected temples and idols. It was otherwise, however, with their funeral ceremonies. When the death of a chief occurred they mourned for many days, and performed their last act with great solemnity ; depositing in the tomb of the deceased his utensils, weapons, meats and drinks, and at the same time burying with him human victims, women, boys, and servants, to attend the departed on his entrance into another world. Others, with suicidal hands, laid themselves down as voluntary sacrifices for the same ends ; and it is stated by Herrera, that " when Huyana Capac died, early in the fifteenth century, no less than four hundred Peruvians expired by their own hands, in the ambitious delusion of accompanying their dead monarch in his new existence."

We should be glad to lay before our readers the historical and physical details, which bear upon the national history of the ancient Mexicans ; but to do so would lead us beyond the limits which we have proposed to this article. Like the Peruvians, they belong to the Toltecan stock, and possess similar cranial peculiarities. Crania, from apparently the same stock, are found in connexion with numerous mounds and *tumuli*, which are scattered through the valley of the Mississippi, Florida, Mexico, and Peru. These, in connexion with the structures with which they are associated, would seem to indicate, that the great Toltecan family had extended itself far and wide over both Americas, in the south reaching as far as the confines of Chili, and in the north terminating at the shores of Lake Superior.

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"Wherever that people made their sojourn, we find their monumental traces presenting, indeed, different degrees of contrivance and ingenuity, but for the most part far exceeding those faculties as possessed by the barbarous tribes. Some of the latter, it is true, have occasionally formed sepulchral mounds, but the instances are rare; and it will probably be hereafter established, that all the tribes, which erected mounds as a national usage, belonged to the Toltecan stock." —p. 230.

It will be remembered, that Dr. Morton refers the various American nations to two principal families, viz. the Toltecan and the American; the latter including the barbarous nations, and the former the half-civilized Peruvians and Mexicans, and their cognate nations, which have already been noticed in the preceding pages.

It would be hardly desirable here, to enter into an analysis of the numerous descriptions of crania belonging to the barbarous nations, including, as they do, notices of between thirty and forty different tribes. In drawing comparisons, however, between the two great American families, and between the American and other races, results are obtained, some of them unexpected in their character, and all of them interesting. Thus we find, that, by comparing the crania of the five great varieties of the human family, the internal capacity of their crania, or the bulk of the brain and *medulla oblongata*, in cubic inches, is as follows;

Caucasian, . .	87	cubic inches.
Mongolian, . .	83	" "
Malay, . .	81	" "
American, . .	80	" "
Ethiopian, . .	78	" "

making a difference of nine cubic inches between Caucasian and Ethiopian.

It should be observed, however, that the capacity of the Caucasian crania, as mentioned above, is, with a single exception, the mean result of the measurements of fifty-two skulls from the lowest and least educated class of society, and consequently likely to be rather below the true average.

Comparing the different American crania together, the average measurements are found to be as follows;

Peruvians, . .	76	cubic inches
Mexicans, . .	79	" "
Barbarous tribes,	82	" "

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From this it appears, that the barbarous nations possess a larger brain, by five inches and a half, than the Toltecans; while on the other hand, as appears from another table, the Toltecans possess a greater relative capacity of the anterior chamber of the skull, in the proportion of 42·3 to 41·8.

The general propositions which follow are, in the opinion of Dr. Morton, sustained by the facts contained in his work;

1st. That the American race differs essentially from all others, not excepting the Mongolian; nor do the feeble analogies of language, and the more obvious ones in the civil and religious institutions and the arts, denote any thing beyond casual or colonial communication with the Asiatic nations; and even these may perhaps be accounted for, as Humboldt has suggested, by the mere coincidence naturally arising from similar wants and impulses in nations inhabiting similar latitudes.

2d. That the American nations, excepting the Polar tribes, are of one race and one species, but of two great families, which resemble each other in physical, but differ in intellectual character.

3d. That the cranial remains discovered in the mounds from Peru to Wisconsin, belong to the same race, and probably to the Toltecan family.

The remarks and extracts in the preceding pages will, we are aware, give but an imperfect idea of the great merits of the "Crania Americana." Giving, as the work does, an accurate description of the cranial peculiarities of races, which have hitherto been in those respects but imperfectly known, it does much to clear up and elucidate an important point in the natural history of man; and the fairness and accuracy, with which these researches have been conducted, will entitle the author to the highest respect and confidence of the scientific inquirer.

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ART. IX. — 1. *L'Irlande Sociale, Politique, et Religieuse*, par GUSTAVE DE BEAUMONT. Paris. 1839. 2 Tomes. 8vo.

2. *Rambles in the South of Ireland, during the Year* 1838. By LADY CHATTERTON. 2 Vols. London. 1839.

THE history of Ireland, chequered with eventful periods, and full to overflowing with stirring incident, offers nothing to the reflective mind so pregnant with interest as her present situation. There is a tide in the affairs of nations as in those of men. The political waters of the country in question have long had their rise and fall, — tumultuous and agitated in all times; but certain indications now proclaim the coming crisis, in which the tide must reach the full. It is by no means our purpose to dive into this troubled sea, and drag up historic treasures, or to trust ourselves on its waves, in an adventurous search after undiscovered truths. To trace analogies between the past and the present, and from them to prophesy what is to be, is, if not altogether futile, at least a task out of our design. We hear O'Connell shouting forth "Justice to Ireland!" We see Father Matthew pointing out temperance to Irishmen. We know that the country has been treated unjustly; that the people have been intemperate, the inevitable consequence of absolute ignorance, — which is, in its turn, the heaviest curse that a government can negatively inflict upon a nation. But can we, from these premises, venture to predict the consequences of the past oppressions, or the present outcry for redress?

The wisest statesmen of the old world confess themselves at fault on this momentous subject. That "something must be done *with* Ireland, or *for* Ireland," is now more than the common-place cant of a dominant party in the state, ready to heap some new infliction on the country, or of a hungry opposition, willing to turn her bitter sufferings to political account. To solve the perilous problem, and say what the "something" is, we shall not, as we have already indicated, attempt. Neither can any English faction, Tory, Whig, or Radical, now dare to do it. The great question has become a grand experiment, and it has fallen into proper hands at last. Ireland herself must work it out. Her yet unfulfilled destiny, as a portion of European civilization, is to

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be completed only on her own soil, by her own sons. England has never had the virtue, and never probably could have the wisdom, to accomplish it. This incapacity is not, however, a lot peculiar to England. No nation has ever yet done perfect justice to another. No spontaneous spring of magnanimity has ever thrown wide the portals to a conquered and imprisoned people. A section of a population may be joined with its victors, under a promise of equal rights and a semblance of amalgamation, as was often effected by ancient Rome. A class may be emancipated; a part may be freed from local restraints; modern England furnishes examples. But no wholesale manumission has ever taken place from nation to nation; and England is probably the last of all to make such an original and glorious bound on the career of greatness.

In saying this, we do not mean to put a brand on the brow of a great people, or fix a stigma of tyranny on their character. We only specify, after all, a peculiarity of *race*, when we say that England has, of all nations *as yet*, most broadly developed the instinct of territorial ambition. It is no new position of ours; and the Anglo-Saxon blood will everywhere rise up to admit it, with a glow of pride rather than a blush of shame. From the earliest of her wars with France down to the present time, England has been too narrow for the English. The possession of Gascony, wrenched from her after a fearful struggle; the invasion of Ireland, where she has from the first kept firm hold; the seizure of the American continent and islands, where she has still a footing, slippery it is true, but undisputed; the overrunning of India; the acquisition of Gibraltar, of the Cape of Good Hope, Malta, the Ionian isles, and the colonization of Australia, are points enough on which to rest. We say nothing of expeditions now on foot for China, with views still in embryo, nor of imputed designs on California. The brief enumeration already made sufficiently establishes, that the pride of colonial conquest is the absorbing "appetite, which grows by what it feeds on," in the English mind; a passion without bounds; the sustaining excitement of the most wonderful nation the world has ever seen.

Is it, then, to be for a moment imagined, that England will voluntarily concede to Ireland the "justice," which, let O'Connell say or think what he may, means nothing less than the dismemberment of the British Empire? The standard of

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Repeal is at length fairly and openly hoisted, and nothing can now satisfy the vast majority of the Irish people, but a dissolution of that union, which was always repugnant to their feelings, galling to their pride, and which England has never attempted to carry out in the true spirit of union. Ireland has been tied to England, not attached. The great object of her wishes is a divorce, let that object be covered as it may by the robes of the vague and visionary "justice," for which she calls, and which, if once granted, we are told, would immediately silence the cry for repeal.

But this "justice" is nothing more, than an untangible rallying-cry of war, — not a positive and specific banner, under which men might assemble and fight. The great principles of law and government, presumed to be invoked, form a mass of complicated difficulties in the present state of Ireland, which defies unravelling. Let England now do what she may, let her concede the whole list of grants, which the Irish people ask, and which their celebrated leader implores for, in the attitude and tone of a bold beggar, his hat in the middle of the road, and his weapon in its rest on the side-path, — nothing will satisfy six-sevenths of the people of Ireland but a Repeal of the Union. What ulterior hope may lurk behind, in the minds of the enthusiastic or the far-seeing, it is not for us to say ; nor will we risk a foretelling that futurity might belie. But it is quite clear, that England must view the Repeal of the Union only as the first step towards the independence of Ireland. And can it be believed, that she will ever consent to that *premier pas*, which must be paid for at so ruinous a price ? O'Connell, in his last address, — a most important document, — pretends, or perhaps believes, that England will at once accede to the demand for repeal, now put forward in so formidable a shape. The sanguine people he addresses may join in and reiterate the opinion. But we pronounce it a mere fallacy ; not because we doubt O'Connell and his associates, either individually or in the mass, but because we know the English character. When did England ever concede so great a boon, or any great boon, of herself, and *in good time ?* Let her domestic history answer the question. Let American independence and Catholic emancipation stand forth in relief, as evidence all-sufficient. When necessity *forces* a great measure from British power, it is always yielded *greatly*. There is no half-opening of the hitherto closed

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hand, no faltering, no fear of misrepresentation, no care for the opinion of others, no doubt of her own judgment. The peace of 1783, with the United States, the pacification of Europe, in 1814, the Catholic Relief Bill, in 1829, the Reform Bill, in 1830, are a few out of many splendid monuments of national power and of the largest political sagacity. Whenever other nations or her own subjects act, for their own interest, with courage and industry, England has always shown, in the long run, her appreciation of those two main qualities in her own character. Sympathy with them will obtain fully, what justice or policy may fail to obtain at all. England, above all nations, knows how to yield with dignity, and to give with grandeur. We are not blind to her faults; but we glory in her virtues. And we are sure, that, if Ireland can put forward and sustain her just and rational claims, in a spirit worthy of British admiration and esteem, those claims will, sooner or later, force their concession from the magnanimous spirit, which is enshrined in a tabernacle of pride and ambition. But, to expect that Great Britain will lop off the right arm of her power, fling away the best weapon of her armoury, and lay herself open to the assaults of an envious world, is to expect a suicidal infatuation, of which she has as yet shown no symptoms. Ireland must, we think, soon open her eyes to this. England will, we believe, soon take Ireland closer to her embrace. The Union, of which it is chimerical to anticipate the quiet repeal, must, undoubtedly, be fairly and fully consummated, if Great Britain would preserve her political existence, and strengthen its foundation.

The greatest good, that England could grant to Ireland, modifying, if not altogether neutralizing a mass of misrule, was the advantage of her example. The national union for all national objects, good or bad; the merging of party feeling in the common cause; this, — the great secret of a people's power, of which our own national motto, ***E pluribus unum***, is the condensed expression, — England has been involuntarily teaching to Ireland for centuries; and Ireland has at last got the lesson by heart. She has been long reading in the volumes of experience, and not without results. Her past efforts for relief were mere preparatory steps for the race she is now entering on. Her training has been complete. Her furtive glances at freedom have taught her to

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bear the blaze of liberty. Every one of the wild and bloody trials, which she has made in the practice-field, has prepared her to enter the lists, for serious action, with reflective steadiness and concentrated force.

Casting back our looks upon Ireland as she was in 1782, when Grattan raised the whole country, by the impassioned logic of his eloquence, into an attitude of independence, again at the formation of the Society of United Irishmen in 1791, and, finally, at the fierce outburst of rebellion in 1798, we can trace, step by step, the great gradations by which the country, in her own despite and unknown to herself, was reaching that measure of Legislative Union, by which she was, in 1800, entirely engulfed. The patriotic declarations of these various epochs bear to each other, and to those of the present time, a complete similarity of tone and sentiment. They are, in fact, but links in the same chain of public wants and wishes; the utterance of the same hopes, by different generations of men, for the common object of nationality. This might be supposed to suggest, by implication, the failure of all the present aspirations. But the previous popular movements, leading for a while to partial success, and followed at last by total thraldom, have no direct analogy with the agitation of to-day. Different sections of the same race have been and are struggling for the same purpose, the accomplishment of their political and social civilization. But nothing can be more opposed than the circumstances of the times and the habits of the people. When Grattan, in 1782, aroused an ardent population to arm for a loyal insurrection, and forced from the British Parliament a repeal of its own unconstitutional claim to bind Ireland by its statutes, more than four-fifths of that population were in the depths of political degradation, and the whole in a state of national debauchery and still untamed ferocity. England soon found means to cajole and disarm the volunteers, and, by goading the Catholics into premature and hopeless rebellion, turned the very weapons of the Patriot Protestants into instruments for crushing the people, and thus preparing the Parliament for the corruption, under the effects of which the Union was finally consummated. When Wolfe Tone founded the Society of United Irishmen, the whole country was disjointed; antipathies were rife; and all the eloquent appeals of that

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immortal combination of patriotism and talent were but so many acts of alliance with the policy of England, carried out by its Irish creatures, for that catastrophe of revolt, which placed the country, bound hand and foot, at the mercy of its exasperated conqueror. The Union, the basest of all political crimes, — the partition of Poland was the boldest, — was carried; Irish independence was trampled in the dust; and England gained a vile triumph at a purchase far dearer than the proudest victory was worth.

The Union, so effected, and followed up with vindictive energy, has been, hitherto, a total failure for all the nobler purposes of national amalgamation. English ministers have borne down the rhetoric of Irish members in Parliament, by the weight of figures and of calculation, to show, that the Union has proved to Ireland a blessing, which Pitt, in his pamphlet, in 1799, and Clare and Castlereagh, in their speeches at the same epoch, promised that it should become. But it is not by arithmetic, that popular sentiment can be smothered. The Union has proved a fiction. To make it a reality, the whole system of government, which prevailed in Ireland for centuries, required a total change. Men are always found to work out the destinies of nations. The necessity of a case is sure to generate the instruments for its completion. The ministers, who have governed Ireland for the last few years, have been sensible of the duties of their mission, have labored to surmount its difficulties, and have prepared the country to coöperate in its own salvation. They have sagaciously discovered, honestly admitted, and boldly resolved to extirpate, the evils which previous administrations either saw not, denied, or cherished. Under their protection a noble self-confidence has sprung up among the Irish people, more effective, for purposes of good, than all the efforts of demagogues and the deceptions of factions can be for mischief. Proud in their recovered rights, the millions of Ireland were ripe for political and moral regeneration. Two powerful apostles have appeared among them, of characters wholly dissimilar, but with objects the same, and acting simultaneously with an influence unexampled and almost incredible. The double action of "peaceful agitation" with social reform, effected by Daniel O'Connell and Father Mathew; the decrease of crime; the rapid spread of temperance; fighting out of fashion and whisky out of favor; the

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distilleries closed for want of customers, and the jails left open for want of criminals, — all this presents a spectacle, sublime to the philanthropist, but appalling to the desperate faction, which has long trafficked in political rights, and made a mockery of moral worth. Those, who would hold the Irish people down in ignorance and debauchery, may well tremble at the work now going on. Those, who take pride in the advancement of the human race, who, though doubting the possibility of perfection, rejoice at improvement, must turn towards Ireland, — as we confess ourselves to do, — with sentiments of great admiration and with much solicitude.

At this distance from the scene of pacific action, but deeply interested in the result, we will not presume to speculate further on what is going forward. When we took up this subject, it was with the intention of going into it far more deeply than these rapid remarks have done. We had piled on our table a heap of authorities. We proposed a treatise, and have only thrown off a sketch. In fact, the matter was at once important and pressing. Finding that we could not, from various causes, at present do justice to it in a lengthened essay, but anxious to call the attention of our readers, at home, to the mighty movement abroad, which must influence, in its results, a large portion of the population of this country, we have thus hastily put together a few of the thick-crowding thoughts, which the subject so abundantly supplies; and we shall give some extracts from the latest and the best work, illustrative of the true state of Ireland.

We have closed, in despair of turning them to immediate account, many a tome, replete with matter of deep interest, besides some full of repulsive and wearisome details. The accounts of rebellions and massacres, from that of Sir John Temple, Knight, 1641, to that of Sir Richard Musgrave, Baronet, 1798, made us "sup full with horrors." The duodecimo History of Tom Moore, made us wonder, how one, who has sung so lightly and poetically of Ireland, could write about it with a ponderous pedantry, more fatiguing than the heavy folios of Plowden, or the pompous phraseology of Sir Jonah Barrington. Mr. Inglis's rambling tour is amusing, and, in some minor details, instructive; and Lady Chatterton's "Sketches" are delightful specimens of good taste and good feeling, from the pen of a most accomplished gen-

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tlewoman. We might enumerate several other works, into which we have conscientiously looked, and with extracts from which we intended to enrich the present paper. But we must acknowledge, that, among all the writers, who have lately made Ireland the theme of their observations, none appears to have entered into the subject with so thorough a spirit of philosophical inquiry as the French traveller, whose work stands first on our list. M. de Beaumont is known in this country as the author of the tale of "Marie," and as one of the authors of a book on the American Penitentiary System. Romance and statistics are somewhat incongruous materials in the formation of a literary reputation. We are not now about to separate or examine the claims of M. de Beaumont on either score; but we can safely recommend the work before us, as containing comprehensive views of the social and political state of Ireland, and as worthy of being quoted largely from, or, what is better, thoroughly studied, by those who wish for sound information on the affairs and the feelings of that country at the present extraordinary crisis.

We might safely make our extracts at random, and not go astray. There is considerable perspicuity, and absence of prejudice, and an almost intuitive knowledge of national character, in those French writers of the modern school, Tocqueville, Chevalier, Beaumont, and some few others, which put to utter shame the shallow and narrow-minded English tourists, who have made America and a great part of Europe the scenes of their paltry proceedings. To mark the absurdity of those flimsy creatures, who set aside "a whole year," as a sufficient period for acquiring a general knowledge of this great continent, and for forming, writing, and publishing their opinions on all the complicated and mysterious materials which go to make the national mind of sixteen millions of human beings, we give the concluding paragraph of M. de Beaumont's Preface, on the comparatively small, compact, and easily to be understood country of his inquiries.

"The reader will see, from the preceding remarks, the nature of the author's undertaking, the difficulties he encountered, and the efforts he has made to attain his object. Whoever supposes, that he thinks he has overcome these obstacles, is mistaken; his conscience bears him witness only, that he

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has left no means untried to surmount them. After one journey in England and Ireland he undertook his work ; but, at the end of two years' labor, he became satisfied that he still wanted many of the proper materials ; and, returning to the sources of information, he visited these two countries anew, and attempted to take notice of what had before escaped his attention, and modified his first researches by these new observations. His book is the fruit of four laborious years. In the course of this long work, though his strength often failed him, he never lost courage. Laboring at first in an incorrect manner, he has written volumes, which he has afterwards destroyed, and which have thus cost him much time and trouble, which is almost lost ; but, after his mistakes, he retraced his steps, and sought the right road, till, as he thought, he found it. Resolved to accomplish his undertaking, at whatever cost, he has devoted himself to it entirely, and has resolutely withheld himself from every engagement and interest which could withdraw him from it. In thus describing the labor which his book has cost him, the author undoubtedly exhibits his deficiencies the more strongly ; but he would rather be accused of weakness, than of ardor, in performing a task, the importance of which he had perceived.

" In conclusion, whatever may have been the extent of his exertions and the length of his labors, he will be fully recompensed for both, if, in the picture which follows, he has exhibited one political truth of benefit to mankind, one moral principle of utility to the world ; if, in painting the condition of those who oppress, and those who suffer, he has been able to strengthen, in some minds, love of liberty and hatred of tyranny." —Tom. I. *Préface*, pp. xix. – xx.

Half of the first volume is devoted to a rapid historical sketch, which contains some imperfections, and a few errors, rather personal than political, but of little moment, and not worth the trouble of correcting. The latter part of the volume bears the sad wording, at the head of each page, " Misery of the Irish," " Causes of the misery " ; and the pages, so headed, contain matter enough, God knows, to excite the sympathy of mankind for the sufferings of man, and the indignation of all rational human beings, against the authors of so much wretchedness. Listen to our author.

" We must reflect long on this succession of ages ; we must imagine the rich and the poor invariably following, during this time, two different ways, one leading to extreme wealth, the other to extreme misery ; we must consider the

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natural and necessary effects of these two courses, the one of perpetual accumulation, the other of progressive ruin, each increasing the other, and gaining new strength in every one of its consequences ; we must, I say, meditate long on these causes, to understand the excess of luxury to which the Irish aristocracy has arrived, and the inveterate misery by which poor Ireland is covered.

" The revenues of the rich, in Ireland, sometimes rise to amounts, the immensity of which appears to us almost impossible. The wealthy man makes a magnificent career in this miserable country ; he has splendid edifices, boundless domains, mountains, plains, forests, lakes, — all this ; and often he possesses all this in two or three different places.

" While millions of unhappy beings are at a loss, every day, how to supply their most pressing wants, the rich man seeks for some means to renew some satiated passion in his breast, or some half extinct appetite in his body. If he wishes to move his person, overcome with weariness of itself, from one place to another, he may choose among the most beautiful roads, which rival those of England. Thus do luxury and wealth move with all ease and ostentation across the sufferings and miseries of the land.

" Such is the Ireland which the rich man makes for himself. To see happy Ireland, we must choose a point of view which takes in a narrow and isolated field, confining the eyes to neighbouring objects ; but wretched Ireland, on the contrary, is open to the sight everywhere.

" Naked, famished misery, a vagabond and worthless misery, a mendicant misery, covers the whole country ; it shows itself everywhere, under all forms, at all times ; you perceive it first in landing on the shores of Ireland ; and, from that moment it appears before you, sometimes under the appearance of the sick man who displays his wounds, sometimes under that of the pauper dressed in rags ; it follows you everywhere ; it surrounds you without ceasing ; you perceive its groans and tears from far ; and, if its voice does not move you with profound pity, it importunes and alarms you. This misery appears natural to the soil, and like one of its products; like those endemic plagues which pollue the atmosphere, it pollutes every thing which approaches it, and touches the rich man himself, who cannot, in the midst of his joys, separate himself from the miseries of the poor, and makes vain efforts to shake off the vermin which he has created, and which attaches itself to him."

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"Represent to yourself four walls of dry mud, which the rain, in falling, easily reduces to its original condition; a little stubble for roof, or some squares of turf; a hole rudely broken in the roof for a chimney, and, more frequently, the very door of the house, by which alone can the smoke escape; one apartment, containing father, mother, grandfather, and children; no furniture in this poor hovel; one bed, made usually of grass and straw, serving for the whole family. You see, crowded in the fire-place, five or six half-naked children, before a scanty fire, the ashes of which cover some potatoes, the only nourishment of the whole family; in the midst of the whole lies a dirty pig, the only inhabitant of the place who fares well, because he lives in filth. The presence of the pig, in the Irish houses, seems, elsewhere, a sign of misery; it is, however, a token of some comfort, and there is specially extreme poverty in the cabin where none dwells.

"Not far from the cottage is a little field of an acre, or a half, in size; it is sowed with potatoes; rows of stones, heaped on each other, and bushes, crossing among these, form the inclosure.

"This dwelling is very miserable; nevertheless, it is not that of the poor man, properly so called. This is the description of the Irish farmer and of the agricultural laborer.

"I have said, that there are no small proprietors below the great ones, and none but poor below the wealthy; but these are miserable in different degrees, and with gradations which I could wish to show.

"All, being poor, use only the cheapest nourishment in the country, potatoes; but all do not consume the same quantity; some, and these are the privileged class, eat three times a day; others, less fortunate, twice; some, in a state of indigence, only once; and there are those, who, more destitute still, pass one whole day, sometimes two, without taking any food.

"This life of fasting is cruel; and yet it must be submitted to, under fear of greater evil. He who eats more than he can afford, and fasts once less than he ought, is sure to have nothing with which to clothe himself; and yet this prudence, this resignation to suffering, are often unproductive.

"Whatever may be the determination of the poor cultivator in bearing hunger, that he may face his other wants, he is in general naked, or covered with rags, transmitted in the family from generation to generation.

"In many of the poor houses there is only a complete suit for every two persons; this obliges the priest of the parish

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always to say mass on Sunday several times. When one has heard the first mass, he returns to the house, takes off his clothes and gives them to the other, who goes at once to attend the second mass.

"I have seen the Indian amidst his forests, and the negro in chains, and have thought, while beholding their pitiable condition, that it was the limit of human misery ; I knew not then the fate of the Irish. Like the Indian, the Irishman is poor and naked, but he lives in the midst of a people who seek for luxury, and honor riches. Like the Indian, he is deprived of the good which human industry and the commerce of nations provide ; but he sees some of his equals enjoy this good to which he cannot aspire. In the midst of his greatest distress, the Indian preserves a certain dignified independence. However poor and hungry, he is still free in the desert, and the feeling which he has of this liberty alleviates his sufferings. The Irishman feels the same deprivation, without having the same freedom ; he is subjected to rules and shackles of all kinds ; though governed by laws, he dies of hunger, a sad condition, uniting the vices of the civilized with those of the savage state. Undoubtedly an Irishman who has shaken off his chains, and who has faith in the future, is indeed less to be pitied than the Indian or black slave ; but now he has neither the freedom of the savage, nor the bread of slavery.

"I shall not undertake to describe all the circumstances, all the shades, of Irish misery, from the condition of the poor farmer, who fasts that his children may live, to that of the cultivator, who, less miserable, though more degraded, resolves to beg ; from resigned poverty, which is silent in the midst of suffering, to that which rebels, and, from violence, goes on to crime.

"Irish poverty has an entirely distinct character, which renders it difficult of description, because it can be compared to no other poverty. Irish misery has a distinct form, of which there is no model or imitation. We feel, in beholding it, that we cannot theoretically assign any limit to the wretchedness of a people.

"In all nations there are more or less poor ; but a whole people poor is what we never saw, till Ireland showed it to us.

"To know the social condition of such a country, it is only necessary to relate its miseries and sufferings ; the history of Ireland is that of the poor."

* * * * *

"Misery descends, in Ireland, to depths elsewhere unknown. The condition, which in Ireland is above poverty, would be elsewhere accounted a state of frightful distress ; and the

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wretched classes among us, whose fate we justly deplore, would form in Ireland a privileged class. These miseries of the Irish population are not singular accidents ; almost all are permanent ; those which do not exist always are periodical.

" Every year, at nearly the same point of time, there is announced in Ireland, the beginning of the famine, its progress, its ravages, its decline.

" In February last (1838), the French press registered the annual cry of Irish misery, and gave the number of those who, in one month, died of hunger. Either through selfishness or humanity, many choose to think that the accounts given of Irish poverty are exaggerated ; and for them the word *famine*, which is made use of to paint the anguish of Ireland, is only a metaphorical expression, signifying excessive distress, and not the proper term, to express the state of people *actually* famished and dying for want of food.

" It is especially in England that people like to keep in this state of doubt, from which, however, it is easy to emerge.

" In 1727, about a hundred years since, the primate Boulter wrote concerning Ireland, where he was the chief agent of the English government ;

" ' Since my arrival in this country (in 1725), famine has never ceased among the poor. So dear has grain been, that thousands have been obliged to quit their dwellings to seek a living elsewhere. Many hundreds have perished.' When Bishop Doyle was asked, in 1832, what was the state of the population in the west ; ' What it always has been,' said he ; ' people are perishing as usual.'

" In 1817, fevers caused by poverty and hunger, attacked in Ireland one million five hundred thousand individuals, sixty-five thousand of whom perished ; and it has been calculated, that, in 1826, the badness of the food made twenty thousand sick.

" In the grand inquiry, made in 1835, by the English government, into the social state of Ireland, the following question was addressed by the commissioners to their correspondents in each parish ;

" ' Do you know of any death, in the course of the last three years, of which urgent want was the cause ?"

" And the inquiry proves a multitude of deaths, which want of food alone had occasioned. Here are the unfortunate, whom hunger has manifestly killed ; there, the wretched, whose death it has hastened. The latter perished from long exhaustion ; the former at once, from disease and hunger. It would be a painful labor to make an abstract of this whole inquiry, which comprises ten folio volumes, some of which contain more than nine hundred pages ; in which every page, every line, every word,

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shows some Irish misery, and yet all the wretchedness of Ireland is not related.

"The commissioners charged with this memorable inquiry estimate, that in Ireland there are nearly three million of individuals, who yearly sink into absolute destitution; these three millions are not only poor, they are wretchedly poor. Besides these three millions of poor, there are still millions of unhappy creatures, who, as they do not die of hunger, are not counted.

"The author of this book, to whom similar testimony would have undoubtedly appeared sufficient, wished, however, to see with his own eyes, what his reason hesitated to believe. Twice, in 1835 and 1837, he has, while traversing Ireland, visited expressly the counties where famine has been accustomed to rage with the most violence, and he has verified the facts. Shall he relate here all that he has seen? No. There are misfortunes which are so much beyond humanity, that human language cannot describe them. And if he were obliged here to relate the scenes of mourning and desolation which he has witnessed; to repeat the sounds and cries of despair which he has heard; if he were obliged to tell of the grief of the mother's voice, when refusing to her hungry children a little bread; and if, in the midst of this extreme wretchedness, he were obliged to paint the insulting opulence displayed to all eyes by the rich man; the immensity of his domains, where man's hand has created artificial lakes, valleys, and hills; the magnificence of his palace, which is upheld by columns of the most beautiful marble of Greece or Italy, and which the gold of America, the silk of France, and the cloth of India, vie with one another in adorning; the splendid dwellings, destined for the servants; the still more splendid abode of the horses; all the wonders of art, all the inventions of industry, and all the fancies of vanity accumulated in this place, in which the master does not even deign to reside, and which he only visits at long intervals; the sumptuous and indolent life of this rich man, who knows nothing of the miseries of which he is the author, has never seen them, does not believe in them; who derives, from the sweat of the poor, 500,000 francs as rent; each of whose senseless or superfluous enjoyments represents the ruin or distress of some unhappy individual; who gives every day to his dogs the meal of a hundred families, and causes to die of hunger those who furnish for him this life of luxury and pride; — if the author were obliged here to recall the dismal impressions which the sight of such contrasts has caused him, and the terrible questions which such inconsistencies have raised up in his mind, he feels that the pen would fall from his hands, and that he would not have courage to finish the task that he wishes to accomplish." — Tom. I. pp. 200 – 210.

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After giving these frightful and too true pictures of Irish misery, M. de Beaumont devotes a chapter to an effort to trace the causes of what he so accurately paints and so feelingly deplores. He finds the first of these causes to be the existence of a *mauvaise aristocratie*, and who, that has had any experience of the sordid, selfish, anti-national nature of Irish landlords, will not add his testimony to what follows?

"We cannot consider Ireland attentively, we cannot study its history and its relations, observe its manners, and analyze its laws, without acknowledging that its misfortunes, to bring about which so many fatal accidents and circumstances have concurred, have had, and still have, a prime, radical, permanent cause, one which predominates over all others; this cause is a bad aristocracy.

"All aristocracies founded on conquest or inequality, comprise, undoubtedly, many vices; but all do not contain the same, nor do they possess an equal number." . . . . .

"The English aristocracy, able and national as it is, would have perhaps been powerless to maintain itself, if, at the same time that it covers its vices with splendid virtues, it had not been protected by fortunate accidents.

"Subject, as are all aristocracies whose principle is privilege, to misemploy its strength for a selfish interest, it has strained to excess the springs upon which it is supported, it has concentrated beyond measure in its hands the possession of the soil which has been monopolized by a small number; and those, who in England are proprietors, form so small a minority, in comparison with those who are not, that property would perhaps be in danger there, if it were in the eyes of the people a desirable object.

"But, by a propitious event, more than by the effect of a wise policy, the soil in England has never to this day excited the envy of the inferior classes; the English people leaves to its aristocracy the monopoly of the land, because it has itself the monopoly of industry. The immense domains of the lord have no attractions to the citizen, to whom the commerce of the whole world offers an unlimited arena, and who thinks that if he makes for himself a great fortune, he shall acquire, perhaps, some day, with the lands of this lord, his title and his honors.

"The English agriculturist cares little for the political system, whose effect is to send from the fields to the towns the inhabitants of the country, when this agriculturist, at a distance from the soil, finds in a manufactory as regular labor,

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and better wages. This, it must be acknowledged, is the greatest security of the English aristocracy ; a weak and failing security, which will only last as long as English industry shall supply the world with its productions.

"The Irish aristocracy, full of vices from which the English aristocracy is exempt, far from being, like this, aided by favorable circumstances, struggles against fatal tendencies. Thus the situation of Ireland by the side of England, has proved fatal to the Irish aristocracy ; for this aristocracy has never ceased to be English in heart, and almost in interest ; for which reason it has always resided, and still resides, more in England than in Ireland ; and this material fact, which separates it so often from the people under its government, is the source of a vice most fatal to every aristocracy, which can really exist only in the condition of those who govern. The evils of Ireland are often attributed to the non-residence of the aristocracy ; but this is taking the consequence of the evil for the evil itself. The aristocracy of Ireland is not bad, because it absents itself ; it absents itself because it is bad ; because nothing attaches it to its country, nothing retains it there. Why, loving neither the country nor the people, should it stay in Ireland, when England is near, inviting and attracting it by the charms of a more civilized and elegant society, and has the merit of being the country of its origin ?

"In general, all aristocracy carries in itself the curb which moderates, if it does not stop it in its sallies and its selfishness. It is generally the case, that those who do not love the people fear them, or at least have need of them, and therefore do from calculation what would not be done from sympathy. They do not oppress too much, for fear of exciting to rebellion ; they manage the national force from which they derive advantage, and thus sometimes appear generous, when they are only skilful and interested.

"The Irish aristocracy has always had the misfortune of neither fearing nor hoping any thing from the people placed under its yoke ; leaning upon England, whose soldiers have always been at its service, it has been able to indulge itself without reserve in its tyranny ; the groans, the complaints, the threats of the people have never lessened the oppression, because beneath the popular clamors there was nothing to be dreaded. Does a revolt break out in Ireland ? the aristocracy of the country does not move ; the English artillery is there, and thunders forth upon the rebels ; and, when all has returned to order, the aristocracy takes, as before, the revenue from the lands.

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"The Irish aristocracy has exercised a power, of which there has been no other example in any country; it has for *six* centuries reigned in Ireland under the authority of England, which has given to it half the advantages and spared it all the expense. Provided with rights, privileges, and constitutional guaranties, it has made use of all the instruments of liberty, to practise oppression. Ireland has thus been constantly the prey of two tyrants, the more formidable, that the one has protected the other. The Irish aristocracy, considering itself as the agent of England, likes in this way to absolve itself from its own excesses and personal injustice; and England, whose rights this aristocracy has exercised, chooses to throw upon the latter the abuse of power."

"The Irish aristocracy has two vices, which include all others; of English origin, they have never ceased to be English; having become Protestants, they have had to govern a people who have always been Catholics.

"These two vices contain the beginning of all the evils of Ireland; here is found the key to all her misery, all her embarrassments. If we would examine attentively this point of departure, we should see flow from it, as entirely natural consequences, the extraordinary circumstances for which we may vainly seek a cause elsewhere. These consequences are of three kinds; some of which are called civil, because they regard manners; others political, because they concern institutions; the last religious, because they spring from the difference of worship. The first affect more particularly the relation of rich and poor, proprietor and farmer; the second, the reciprocal relations of governor and governed; and the third, the situation, in regard to each other, of Protestant and Catholic." — Tom. I. pp. 210–220.

Our author, having thus traced the causes of Irish misery, proceeds, in the natural sequence of just reasoning, to point out what he conceives to be the remedies. The increase of manufacturing establishments, a poor law, and voluntary emigration, are those which he indicates as among the minor ones; but to these he gives but a very qualified recommendation. Probing deep into the sources of the evil, he views these as but superficial means of redress; and he sees no actual prospect of good, short of measures which amount to a total revolution in the state. The repeal of the Union he deems unlikely, if not impracticable. And his wholesale plan of reformation embraces the abolition of all aristocratical

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privileges, the division of landed property among small proprietors, — as in this country and in France, — and the total severance of the connexion between church and state.

These, it will be admitted, were but Utopian plans, as long as Ireland was morally besotted, and while England was expected to carry them out. Even when M. de Beaumont wrote, the grand secret of redress and the great principle of power had not been discovered. O'Connell had produced, it is true, that extraordinary political organization which carried emancipation, and which is disciplining the people for all the active exigencies of reform. But TEMPERANCE, the mighty foundation on which every thing great and good is to be built in Ireland, was not until, as it were, the other day, preached, thought of, or dreamed of, as practicable to any extent beyond mere local and passing occasions, or as a concomitant branch of a rational, yet commonplace, code of morals. Now, it is known, felt, and *sworn to*, by millions of determined men, as the one master-key to all the most difficult problems of national regeneration. The inspiration has fallen on those millions through the agency of one man. And Father Mathew stands alone, on the very highest pedestal of virtuous fame, in a holier ordination than that which priested him; not as a mere follower of Grattan, or coadjutor of O'Connell; not as a rival of the majestic eloquence and dignified patriotism of the former, or of the fierce energy and fiery perseverance of the latter; but as the equal, in influence, of each of those great men, and forming with them a triple combination, whose attributes are not unaptly figured out by the verdure, brightness, and equality of the three-leaved shamrock, Ireland's national emblem. It is, indeed, hard to adjudge the palm to either of the members in this trinity of fame. Grattan awoke in the hearts of bondmen the love of liberty. O'Connell taught them how to become free. Mathew is making them worthy of freedom. Grattan armed eighty thousand citizens, and won Ireland's commercial and parliamentary independence by physical force. O'Connell enfranchised hundreds of thousands by claims of constitutional right. Mathew disenthralls millions from the tyranny of self-debasement by the power of moral suasion. Grattan acted on the passions, O'Connell on the judgment, Mathew on the consciences, of men; each being admirably fitted to the times in which his efforts came into play, and to the state of social

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feeling on which he was to act. Each has labored well in his vocation. The result of their combined missions, — the happiness of Ireland, — is about to be accomplished. What that may be in its *ensemble*, its details, its working out, will in a great measure depend on others. To them, however, who planned the great design of national creation, from a chaos of political turbulence and social debasement, the first and the highest place must be assigned, in the gratitude and veneration of the masses of whom they have made a PEOPLE.

The first two of the remedies advocated by M. de Beaumont, manufacturing industry and a poor law, will now have fair play, which they never could have had as long as drunkenness was there to counteract them. The third, emigration, which, as a measure of state policy on a large scale, he considers too difficult for much good, will most probably be checked by the success of the others. When men have a home which is made habitable, a field for the exercise of labor, and a resource against the chances of distress, they will be in no hurry to abandon it ; they will have no necessity for severing the ties of social affection, or seeking beyond the ocean for shelter against the ills of their native land. So far as the United States may be affected by the bright day which now dawns on Ireland, these considerations are of great interest. Those among us who deprecate an increase of immigration from that country, may rejoice in the amelioration which must tend to keep its population at home. Those who receive with pleasure each fresh accession to our millions, will in future have to hail the new comers with which every ship may be freighted, not with the mingled compassion and repugnance, excited by worn-down, servile victims of licentiousness and poverty, but with the welcome due to men proud in their self-respect, of temperate habits, and unspotted characters, and in all ways worthy of the citizenship which awaits them here.

The abolition of the privileges of the "*mauvaise aristocratie*" of Ireland is among the most prominent of those projected remedies, which our author indicates as almost a necessary consequence of the rest. He draws a wide and well-defined distinction between the aristocracy, grown, by a long series of circumstances, to be an inseparable portion of the social system of England, and that dominant mass of titled

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and endowed corruption, which, in Ireland, bears the same distinctive epithet. He plainly advocates the destruction of this mongrel aristocracy, with all its rights of entail, primogeniture, and other privileges. But he must be heard for himself.

"When I say, that the aristocracy of Ireland must be destroyed and extirpated, even to its root, I do not mean by this a violent and sanguinary destruction.

"I do not agree with those people, who think, that to establish order, prosperity, and union in a country, it is necessary to begin by murdering some thousands of persons, sending those who are not killed into exile, taking the property of the rich, giving it to the poor, &c. &c. I set aside all such methods as iniquitous, and I do not inquire if they would be necessary. I believe, without examination, that they are not necessary, that they are not just, and that they are atrocious. It is in my eyes a vicious proceeding, when one injustice presents itself to be reformed, to begin by committing another, and to do what is certainly and at present evil, in prospect of a future and doubtful good. I distrust those criminal means, which are sanctified by the end, and which, if the end fails, leave nothing but the crime to him who makes use of them; or it may rather be said, that criminal means can never become honest. Besides, I am unwilling to admit, that injustice and violence ever profit either nations or individuals. I think too highly of the progress of humanity, to suppose, that excesses which dishonor it can ever be useful to it. A great crime sometimes seems to hasten forward liberty, but having impelled it on, by a leap, for one day, stops it perhaps for ages. If it could even be proved to me, that a crime is advantageous to the present generation, I should not think that this generation had a right to impose upon the next the infallible expiation of it.

"I mean the abolition of the Irish aristocracy, understanding by this, that it should be divested of its political power, of which it has made use only to oppress the people. Let it be deprived of its civil privileges, which have only been the means of gratifying its selfishness, and let that religious predominance be humbled, which, if it does not produce persecutions, perpetuates the remembrance of them.

"To destroy the political power of the aristocracy, it is necessary that it should be deprived of the daily application of the laws, as it has been before deprived of the power of making them. Consequently, it would be necessary to de-

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stroy, from top to bottom, the administrative and judicial system, which rests on the institution of justices of the peace, and on the organization of the grand juries, as they are at present constituted, — and in the first place, to execute this destruction, it would be necessary to establish a system for the centralization of power." — Tom. II. pp. 180 - 182.

Into this subject M. de Beaumont enters at length, and with a force of argument which can be fairly understood only by a reference to the book itself. Of two serious points, connected with this important portion of the work, we can only say a few passing words, and can afford but small space for extracts. And first, of the Orange party ; that is to say, the loathsome faction which has domineered in Ireland for more than a hundred and fifty years, and which must, from the nature of things, and from its own action, perish like a pestilent weed, in its self-engendered rottenness. It is defined by M. de Beaumont, as follows ;

"The old Anglican party, which takes for a device the salvation of the Protestant church, and for a rallying-word, hatred of Popery, has for its sacramental principle the intimate union of Church and State, that is to say, of the Anglican worship and the Anglican aristocracy. Whilst every thing advances, and every thing about it changes, this party remains immovable ; and it will sustain, on the ruins of a universe, that a political society cannot exist, if it is not exclusively Protestant.

"This party cannot conceive of a Protestant society without a Protestant church, a Protestant government, a Protestant king, Protestant judges and functionaries, Protestant citizens and soldiers ; whoever in the country is not a Protestant, is, in the view of this party, as if he did not exist, and has only an imaginary life.

"It is the opinion held by this party, that every thing, which has been done contrary to this exclusive principle, has been ill done. The constitution was violated on the day when a single penal law against the Irish Catholics was abolished. These laws are in no wise oppressive to the Catholics ; it depends only on themselves to become free under the protection of the laws ; they have nothing to do but to make themselves Protestants ; it is very natural, that this condition should have been exacted from them, since Protestantism is the law of the country, the law of the State, the law of the soil. This party dates from the year 1688.

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"According to this party, the constitution was violated on the day when Scotland was permitted to have a Presbyterian church; and a sort of sacrilege was committed, when the English Parliament endowed with the funds of the State, a seminary designed for the education of Catholic priests. The constitution was again violated, when the electoral right, the right to be elected to Parliament, was granted to the Irish Catholics; in the eyes of this party, these concessions are as if they had not happened, and he who believes it impossible to retract, deplores them. Whenever such concessions are made to the Catholics, the Tory party sees, or feigns to see, a dreadful monster ready to escape from the iron cage where he is chained, to spring upon and devour the people; this hideous monster is Popery.

"This party holds in singular veneration the name of William the Third, Prince of Orange, the conqueror of the Boyne, and the last founder of the Anglican church in Ireland; it is inspired by the recollection of him, wears emblems which recall him, gives at public festivals toasts to his glorious memory, and endeavours to support, in all their vigor, the religious passions on which the fortunes of that prince were elevated; from which causes it took the name of the Orange party.

"This party, which for more than a century trampled the Catholics under foot, holds them still more in scorn than in hatred. When they speak of an honest company, it is of course a company of Protestants that they mean. In their language, every thing which is Protestant is called respectable, in opposition to every thing Catholic.

"This party considers, that all the ills of the country have come upon it from the weakness of the power, which did not, when an opportunity offered, sufficiently repress the rebels. Having stated, that after the insurrection of 1798, sixty-six persons accused of rebellion, were executed at Wexford alone, the historian, Sir Richard Musgrave, who considers the repression as tender, adds, *We may judge from this of the clemency of the government.* Here is the true Orange man. Under the ardent religious and political passions of the Orange or Tory party, are found some interests, among others that of preserving immense privileges for an aristocracy which does not govern, and a magnificent revenue for a church which has nothing to do." — pp. 88 – 90.

The established church of Ireland is the other great feature of national grievance. M. de Beaumont says, "As long as the established church is the religion of the state, the

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state will be odious to the country, and there will be no possibility of prosperity or repose for Ireland." He continues;

"The Anglican supremacy is, to Ireland, the principal and the continual source of all evil. It signifies, to the Irish, violence, confiscation, rapine, cruelty. It is, in their eyes, the certain sign of injustice, of falsehood, and of spoliation. As long as the English church is the established worship in Ireland, wrong or right, this country will not consider itself free. It will feel, that it is always treated as an oppressed and conquered country, because the most bitter remembrances of the conquest are all connected with Protestantism, and there is no recollection of Protestantism, which is not mingled with tyranny."

* * * * *

"This principle of religious domination, in which are resumed and perpetuated all the old grievances of Catholic Ireland, will be, while it lasts, an inexhaustible source of division, hatred, attack, and resistance. It will render fruitless all authority, even the most beneficent, which is founded on this basis. Vainly will any government, in other respects the most national, attempt to establish unity in Ireland; it will be powerless and fragile, if it is laid upon this vicious foundation. Vainly will reforms be made in the administration of the Anglican church; it will be in vain to correct abuses, to abolish sinecures, to diminish the wealth of the clergy; the evil will be always the same, as long as the principle prevails, which attributes to the Anglican church a superiority over other modes of worship; and this evil will always provoke the same risings; the same violence, the same popular rebellions, will appear. What particular event will be the occasion of them we cannot say, but the result will not fail to take place."—pp. 239–240.

"Whence comes the inutility of the efforts which have been made to reform the Anglican church of Ireland? It is because Ireland does not wish its reform, but its abolition. The radical vice of this church is, that it is established as the legal and official worship of a people, who have another form of worship. The abuse is, its very establishment. Its creation, in the bosom of a Catholic people, is a wrong, which perpetuates itself as long as that church endures. The great evil of the Anglican church in Ireland is, that it is placed in the midst of a population, which repels it without examination. Its riches, its luxury, its idleness, are assuredly great vices, but the most

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enormous of all vices is its existence. Its destruction, in Ireland, is the first step towards good sense and good order.

"When we speak of abolishing the Anglican church, we do not mean to annihilate, in Ireland, the Episcopal worship, but only to destroy the political superiority of this form over all others. Neither would it be necessary, in abolishing the predominance of the Anglican worship, to replace it by the supremacy of the Catholic worship. What is important is, to establish in Ireland an equality of worship. Ireland, it is true, is Catholic in the main, as England is Episcopal, and Scotland Presbyterian; and it would be logical, that Ireland should have a Catholic establishment, in the same manner as Scotland has a Presbyterian establishment, and England an Anglican one. But, in the first place, it is a great question, whether it is advantageous to unite church and state. Why associate human and perishable institutions with one which is of God, and which will never die? What would be the effect of proclaiming, in Ireland, the Catholic religion as that of the state, except the destruction of the religious privileges of the Protestants, to transfer them to the Catholics? After having abolished the injurious supremacy of the Anglican church, which offends a majority of the Irish people, would you see the Protestant minority oppressed by the religion which it now oppresses?

"One of the greatest evils, to which Catholic Ireland could be exposed, is, that, after having been ruled over, it should wish to rule.

"This would be a fruitful source of misfortunes to England and to itself; to England, because it would not bear this dominion of a sect, and because all the old passions of the Reformation would be aroused by this Popish pretension; and to Ireland itself, which would be crushed anew by England.

"It is important to the two countries, that Ireland should be accustomed to religious liberty; and what better means are there, to give it tolerant customs, than to place all religions on the same footing? It is now, while England protects Ireland, that she ought to give to the Catholics of this country a lesson of this sort. The equality of sects should come as a benefit; soon, perhaps, they will consider it an evil; and this will certainly happen, if this equality does not take place, in Ireland, till the Catholics are politically superior; they will then consider equality of sects as only introduced for the degradation of their religion." — pp. 246 – 248.

We cannot follow our author in the long chain of argument by which he shows, to his own satisfaction, if not quite to our conviction, the facility of establishing a perfectly religious

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equality in Ireland. Considering the long series of abuses inflicted on that country by the established church, — its intolerance, its enormous wealth, its lordly privileges, its insolent pretension, — we believe that no moderate modification of its present state can well be brought about by legislative enactments, or that such would be at all likely to conciliate the Catholic population; nor do we think any half measures sufficient for the great interests of religion. It is to us quite clear, that the flood of Catholic supremacy must pass over Ireland before the seeds of true Christianity can spring up. The destruction of "Protestant ascendency" is an inevitable necessity. The false system, so long fostered, has been the ruin of Protestantism. Orange ferocity and Catholic degradation have only prepared the way for Catholic power and Orange extirpation. Protestantism is gradually expiring in Ireland, from its own excess. It has long lost all moral force. Political power and social influence are gradually slipping away from it. It must, inevitably, rapidly lose every one of its hitherto overgrown prerogatives. Then Catholicism will most probably arise, in pomp, insolence, and persecution. Protestantism will either struggle violently, in tumult and blood, or disappear in expatriation. Protestant property will pass into Catholic hands; and Catholic influence is not likely to change its nature, and become tolerant towards what it hates, and so naturally longs to be revenged on. England, from whom M. de Beaumont expects all good things for Ireland, may, by following the course of great wisdom which seems to guide the present government, and by a magnanimous interference, hold the balance even between the conflicting parties, and mitigate the severity of the lot of overpowered Protestantism in Ireland. Catholicism may possibly be moderate, instead of rampant; but, if so, it will not be Catholicism in its ancient spirit. However all this may be, — and who may penetrate the veil of futurity? — we believe the only chance for true enlightenment in Ireland, according to the genuine principles of the Reformation, is in the existing church establishment being thoroughly purged, ay, or altogether overthrown; when the state may really flourish in unclogged and legitimate power, and the church have a chance of starting anew, on a career in accordance with its pristine purity.

We are reluctantly obliged to omit M. de Beaumont's reasonings, on the state of the judiciary, the magistracy, the infe-

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rior officers of justice, and the constitution of Irish juries, corporations, and vestries. He has left nothing untouched, of all the ramifications composing the tangled web of Irish misgovernment; and he winds up his labors, by entering into the question, what can England do for Ireland? — tracing, as far as his judgment can decide it, what is to be expected from each of the three great parties, which now struggle for predominance in the United Kingdom. We consider an inquiry of this nature the less necessary on our part from the opinion with which we started, and which we now emphatically repeat, that it is by Ireland herself that the work of amelioration is to be done. The business is in her hands. She has at last taken it up in the right spirit; and, whatever may be the *something*, which Providence has destined for the relief of a fine country and a noble people, it has now, for the first time for centuries, a fair chance of being fitly accomplished.

We are happy in believing, that a strong sympathy will be felt throughout the United States of America for the progress of Irish prosperity. Whenever a fair occasion has offered for displaying the good feeling of the people at large in favor of their Irish fellow-citizens, the result has always been such as every philanthropic mind must approve. Deplorable collisions have from time to time arisen between the Irish and small fractions of the native population. Excesses have been committed by a few, ignorant, prejudiced, and hot-headed persons. But the good sense and respectability of the country has always reprobated those partial aberrations from propriety and legality. Our attention has been lately called to a course of lectures on Irish History and Character, delivered in New York, by Mr. Samuel G. Goodrich, (the well known "Peter Parley,") and which are, we understand, very shortly to be published. We hope their promised appearance will take place in such time as to enable us to notice, in our next Number, a work, which, although it may be of slight dimensions, will, we are sure, contain matter of the highest interest on the important subject we have in this paper introduced to our readers' notice, and which we shall certainly follow up, in connexion with its bearings on this country.

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ART. X. — *The Greek Reader*, by FREDERIC JACOBS. *A New Edition, with English Notes, Critical and Explanatory, a Metrical Index to Homer and Anacreon, and a copious Lexicon.* By CHARLES ANTHON, LL. D., Jay-Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, New York, and Rector of the Grammar School. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1840. 12mo. pp. xiv., 614.

IN the execution of a plan, the outlines of which have been some time before the public, of preparing a new series of elementary classical works, Professor Anthon has just presented a new edition of Jacobs's "Greek Reader," a work which, in the forms in which it has been published in this country, has acquired a wider reputation, and been, perhaps, more deservedly praised, than any other book of a similar character in use in our schools. Those who are acquainted with the history of its republication in this country, know that few books have been issued by more publishers, notwithstanding the oppositions of antecedent copyrights. The edition of Professor Anthon, published by the Messrs. Harpers, adds another to a list of four or five distinct editions, and excites some curiosity as to its claims to originality, and the plan on which it has been executed.

We find this stated as follows, in the editor's Preface;

"In preparing a Greek Reader for the press, three plans suggested themselves to the attention of the editor. The first of these was, to make an entirely new selection from the ancient writers; the second, to take merely those parts of the work of Professor Jacobs, which presented fewest difficulties for the young student; the third, to retain, unaltered, whatever portions of the German work had already been adopted in our Classical seminaries."

He gives his reasons for rejecting the first two of these plans, and proceeds;

"The only remaining course, therefore, was to take those selections from the German work, which had been adopted in the more respectable portion of our Classical schools, and to make these the basis of a new edition."

There certainly were advantages in favor of such a course. For an elementary school-book, there was but little need of a

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display of that erudition which would lead an editor to dive into the depths of Greek literature to make a new selection of choice beauties. Especially, when one has, at his elbow, such a mine as Jacobs's volumes afford, the ease with which a new edition, with copious notes and explanations, might be prepared, would seem to afford strong motives for a close adherence to extracts from his text. The student, therefore, who should be well acquainted with Jacobs's work, could not but feel some surprise, that Dr. Anthon has deviated from his plan; that this new edition of the "Reader" contains several Greek selections *not contained* in the German work, and that, too, without any reason directly or indirectly expressed; these extracts being inserted precisely like the others, with nothing to show that the editor knew they were not, and certainly nothing to tell the student that they are not, in the German work.

The passages to which we refer, are the extracts from Anacreon, numbered 2, 4, 5; those from Bion, numbered 2 and 3; and No. 1, from Moschus. The mystery of their insertion is easily explained. In 1832, Messrs. Hilliard and Gray, in Boston, published a new edition of the "Greek Reader," which they have since repeatedly amended, and to which we shall have occasion again to refer. This edition, which has been edited and published with great care, contained the additional passages alluded to, and these Dr. Anthon has reprinted; supposing, apparently, that they were contained in the parent edition of Jacobs. The Boston editors, where they made new selections from Jacobs, curtailed the length of his extracts considerably. In their quotations they are followed by Dr. Anthon without deviation.

In all Dr. Anthon's Preface, in which he professes to state his resources, with his *modus operandi* in detail, he takes no notice whatever of the valuable Boston edition of Messrs. Hilliard and Gray, excepting so far as he means to include it under the general slur he casts on all previous American editions of this work. The readers of that preface would invariably suppose he knew of no such edition, and the discovery, therefore, of an instance like that above mentioned, where he drew directly upon it for his text, excites no little surprise.

If, however, this were merely a piece of carelessness, induced by the convenience of printing from the Bos-

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ton text, while a little editorial vanity prevented him from giving credit to it, Dr. Anthon's mistake in this point would be more excusable. It is, however, impossible to put this cover upon it. Excepting the Preface, no entire portion of this new edition, which professes so much to surpass all previous editions, is original, unless it be the "Metrical Index to Homer and Anacreon." We do not make this charge without ample means to support it. No one, at all acquainted with the last edition of the Boston publishers, can fail to be struck by the constant plagiarisms, and to be offended at the veil of disguise with which the copyist has attempted to conceal them. The reader will readily perceive, that in an instance like this, where both editors are drawing, generally, from the same source, plagiarism might be committed by the later of the two to an almost indefinite extent without detection. Professor Anthon, however, has not succeeded in shielding himself by even this circumstance.

In the passages which we have mentioned as extracted from the Greek authors without having passed through the German "Reader," a considerable number of words occurs which are not in any other part of the book. These words were inserted in the Lexicon to the Boston edition, although, as will be readily perceived, they would not be found in the German. All these, by a singularly exact coincidence, are found in Anthon's edition, and, what is more remarkable, they stand with almost precisely the same explanations as in the other. It is impossible, of course, to say positively that these resemblances were not the results of separate intellectual exertions of the two editors, who thus arrived at so nearly the same ends. But, when we find the similarity extend through almost one hundred instances, a strong doubt attends this charitable supposition. The doubt is strengthened, and the supposition entirely refuted, by a singular circumstance, which we propose to state in full, as an instance of a considerable class.

The last line of the fifth ode of Anacreon, found in these editions, is *Καθελὼν ἤνθησε καρπός*, according to the reading of the Boston editor. The word *ἤνθησε* from the root *ἀνθέω* is one of those of which we have spoken as not contained elsewhere in the book. It is of course in the Boston Lexicon. Professor Anthon, for reasons given in his note, changes this word to *ἤνθισε* from *ἀνθίζω*. Of course, then, if he had made

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his own Lexicon, ἀνθέω would not have been found in it *as it is.* Ἀνθίζω is in both Lexicons.

A similar coincidence may be observed in the notes on these passages. In the Boston edition, there are thirty-one notes appended to them ; and of these, all but three are introduced in some way in the New York edition. Of those inserted, three are mentioned to be contradicted, and the remainder are copied with more or less distinctness from one edition to the other.

We have alluded to these particular points, because they serve as an admirable sample of the character of the whole. To show all, or nearly all the similar instances, would require a running commentary on the book. We can only mention, therefore, particular classes of detected plagiarisms, illustrating some of the most striking by instances.

We have not intended to represent the Boston edition of the "Reader" as perfect. Any one who has had any experience in the use of Greek school books, knows that such books are apt to contain misprints. The American editions of the "Greek Reader," before the Boston stereotype edition, were greatly disfigured by these. After the first edition, the book was frequently published with so little attention to any thing but pecuniary profit, that inaccuracies were constantly creeping in. Great care was taken, we are told in the preface to the Boston stereotype edition, to secure the utmost exactness ; and the text, as it there appeared, was, perhaps, as accurate as any ever printed in this country. There remained, however, a considerable number of errors in accents. The careful reader will detect, almost without exception, the same errors remaining in the New York as in the Boston edition, while all the corrections found in the latter occur also in the former. We might adduce hundreds of instances. But a more singular blunder is this ; several of these errors in accent in the text were corrected in the Lexicon of the Boston edition, at some time, apparently, when it was impossible to make the correction in other parts of the book. So that, as the Boston edition now stands, some thirty or forty words are correct in the Lexicon, and incorrect elsewhere. This remarkable inconsistency enters without apology into Dr. Anthon's book. Here is a sort of error which can be accounted for only by considering it as a reprint of the Boston edition. Instances of it are ; Ἅγις, correct in the Lexicon,

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incorrectly written Ἄγις in section ninety-third of "Anecdotes" in the text; ἀμνὸς, correct in the Lexicon, incorrectly printed ἄμνον in Fable ninth of the text; Ἶσις, correct in the Lexicon, incorrectly printed Ἶσιν in the text. We have noticed this singular semi-accuracy in some thirty or forty instances; it may extend much further.

After discovering an instance like this, where, one editor having made a few hundred mistakes in accent, in a book containing a hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand accented words, a second editor in reading his proof-sheets makes exactly the same, and, more than this, makes the same partial corrections as his predecessor had done, — we need not seek for many more proofs to convict the latter of having made use of the labors of the former.

Dr. Anthon, however, is not content with making use of the text of the Boston stereotype edition, but has taken the Notes and Lexicon with no less scruple. In both cases, a heavy cloud of words is used to conceal the — "*convey*, the wise it call"; but a little investigation soon discovers it. A few instances, selected almost at random from the Lexicon, will amply substantiate it. In column after column of the two Lexicons, great part is almost identically the same; we have taken passages where Jacobs's German Lexicons were not wholly relied upon by either editor, as being the only ones fairly in point. The Boston edition was the first which exhibited the derivation of all the words given. Professor Anthon, with great prudence, has uniformly, so far as our examination has gone, availed himself of this labor in his own book, giving it an appearance of originality by translating the roots, which the Boston editor did not always do. We propose to cite a few examples of the striking similarity between the Lexicons, and would request the reader to notice the agreement of the forms of expression, if not of the very words; there being the precise coincidence that would be expected, where one author was rewriting the remarks of the other.

The Boston Edition.	*Professor Anthon.*
μακαρίζω, (μάκαρ,) *f.* ἴσω *and Att.* ιῶ, *p.* ἴκα, to bless, to pronounce happy, to deem happy.	μᾰκᾰρίζω, fut. -ἰσω, Att. ἴῶ, perf. μεμακάρικα (from μάκαρ). *To deem happy, to bless, to pronounce happy.*

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μαλάσσω, (μαλᾰκός,) *f.* άξω, *p.* χα, to soften, to appease, to prevail by entreaty.	μαλάσσω, fut. -άξω, perf. μεμάλᾰχα (from μᾰλᾰκός). *To soften, to mollify, to appease, to prevail by entreaty. — To enervate.*
μαλᾰχη, ης, ἡ, (μαλάσσω, *from its emollient properties, or the softness of its leaves,*) the plant mallows.	μαλᾰχη, ης, ἡ (from μαλάσσω). *Mallows*, a plant of emollient qualities, whence the name.

These three instances, selected from a dozen consecutive ones in the Lexicons, will be sufficient to show the manner in which Professor Anthon has used the labors of his predecessor. Too skilful to copy directly, a little ingenious management has enabled him to produce a Lexicon, which bears, at first sight, the appearance of much greater completeness than the one from which it was derived. And here we must trouble the reader to follow us in another branch of the inquiry into the merits of this new edition.

It will be remembered that we stated, that no entire portion of this new edition was free from plagiarism, excepting the Preface and the Metrical Indices. We would not, of course, charge the editor with plagiarism, merely for assuming a standard text of the work he publishes ; but we do so charge him, when, without credit given, he takes that text as corrected (and injured) by former editors. With respect to the Notes, we have not spoken at length. On the pages of a Review, it is impossible to present such a comparison of the two editions as would be necessary on this point. Any one, who will examine the two, cannot but be surprised to find how universally the Boston Notes, whether taken from Jacobs or not, are transferred into the New York "Reader." Of the extracts originally made by the Boston editors, and of the Lexicon, we have spoken, and thus, we believe, have made out the charge of plagiarism.

On this mass of copied matter, however, is engrafted much that is original. The New York editor could not copy more than the Boston edition contained, and any one acquainted with his style of writing, as exhibited in his former works, will perceive, that the terse expressions of the Notes and Lexicon of this edition, were entirely discordant with his usual verbose grandiloquence. The effect these peculiarities of style have produced upon the work are somewhat amus-

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ing. An instance will be found among the extracts from the Lexicon on a preceding page. Professor Anthon would be puzzled to tell why, to the words "soften," and "appease," he added "mollify," as a definition of μαλάσσω. Certainly not because it added any thing to a school-boy's idea of the meaning, as gained from the other words. Nor, we fancy, could he draw a strong distinction between "covered with long wool" and "fleecy," or "prophecy" and "prediction," or "to dry up" and "to parch," or "to testify" and "to attest"; instances selected from the same page of his Lexicon as those we have given above. But it is very easy to tell why these words are there. They procured for the Lexicon, at very trifling cost, the appearance of completeness and originality. Originality, in a measure, they certainly give it; *uniqueness*, for few men besides the Professor would have made such insertions; but, if room were to be spared for such a purpose, a much greater completeness might have been obtained, although at the cost of much more labor, and with much less pretension.

We are inclined to believe, that this same predilection for verbosity, and much show with little labor, induces Dr. Anthon to burden his class-books with so great a load of notes. In the Preface to the book before us, he says;

"The notes appended to the present volume will be found to be copious, and, it is hoped, satisfactory. The plan has hitherto been tried of editing the Greek Reader with few notes; a plan very much in vogue in some sections of our country, but which never has and never will make scholars. The opposite course is here attempted; and, as it has succeeded on other occasions, the editor trusts that it will be accompanied in the present instance with the same favorable results. In what has just been said, however, respecting previous editions, the editor must not be understood as at all referring to the New York edition by Mr. Casserly. He only regrets, that this gentleman was confined to so narrow limits by the arrangements of his publisher. Had these restrictions been removed, and Mr. Casserly been allowed to expatiate more freely, his known abilities as a scholar would have entirely precluded the necessity of the present publication." — p. vi.

Well said! Dr. Anthon. So the reputation which Mr. Edward Everett, the first Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in

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Cambridge, and the original editor of this Americanized "Greek Reader," enjoyed, was all undeserved, for he could never have studied your book, or any thing that approached it in the number of its notes. So we thousands of drudges, who have toiled over those long octavo pages of the old "Greek Reader," have been entirely mistaken, when, after detecting the meaning of an obscure passage, where we had longed for a kind note to explain it, we joyed in our success, and thought that the very exertions we had made would fix the principles more deeply than if we had had the assistance we had wished for. So those of us who prided ourselves at college on reading, *proprio Marte* and with severe toil, from pocket editions, which had no notes, or shadows of notes, and fancied there was something more respectable in reading Homer and Sophocles, as their countrymen did, than in relying every moment on the aid of others, mistook one of the chief objects of classical discipline, and forfeited by the act all chance of becoming thorough scholars. The whole affair reminds us of the story told of the militia colonel's wife. "Mother!" cried one of her children, on hearing of his father's dignity, "ar'n't we all colonels?" "No, dear; only your father and I." — "Dr. Anthon! ar'n't we all scholars?" "No, dears; only Mr. Casserly and I." And why except Mr. Casserly? Turn to the beginning of *his* edition, and read the Dedication; —

"To Charles Anthon, LL. D., &c. Sir, In being permitted to dedicate this new edition of 'The Greek Reader' to you, a degree of importance must henceforward be attached to the work, to which the humble labors of the Editor could lay no intrinsic claim.

"Any book, how important soever it may appear, when honored with the approbation of one of the first classical scholars of the age, cannot ever afterwards fail, — like bullion, comparatively valueless in itself, until stamped with the sanction of the reigning executive, — to pass current, among the standard literature of the country.

"To whom then could this little volume, — intended for the special use of American youth, — with more propriety be dedicated than to him, whose extensive researches, splendid talents, and elaborate productions have formed a new era in American literature, — have excited the grateful admiration of one hemisphere, and commanded the deferential regard of the other?

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"With every sentiment of respect for your multifarious and solid acquirements, — of wonder at the vast extent of your untiring industry, — and of thankfulness for the improvement and pleasure, so often derived from the perusal of your truly valuable works,

"I have the honor to remain, Sir," &c.

After reading this, turn to Mr. Casserly's Preface, and commend the care of the editor, where, having spoken of an opinion of "one of the ablest scholars and most sagacious critics of the western world," a modest little foot-note announces, that Professor Anthon is the individual alluded to.

One word, *en passant*, of this edition of Mr. Casserly. He begins, in his preface, with most cruelly ironical remarks on the editors of the Boston stereotype edition, of which the first impression only had then been published, and ends, in his book, by copying all the most important part of their labors. We do not propose to attempt to exhibit this at any length; the book speaks in a manner for itself. Mr. Casserly did not escape without copying several mistakes which have been long since corrected where they originated, but which remained long enough to be taken by the New York editor. A long Dictionary of proper names, for instance, was transferred almost directly from the Boston to the New York edition. This dictionary contains some ridiculous mistakes. Δαρδανεῖς, for instance, is interpreted *Trojans*, the inhabitants of Troy. The editors were thinking of Δαρδάνιοι. The Δαρδανεῖς were a people who lived north of Macedonia, and they are mentioned in the text on occasion of a battle fought between them and Philip of Macedon, who by this error is introduced unceremoniously into the Trojan war. Μακεδών itself, by this most accurate of scholars, is permitted to pass as *Macedonia*. Ἰβηρία is set down as a country of Asia, between Colchis and Albania. There undoubtedly was such a country, but there was another Iberia of much greater importance, and the school-boy would be a good deal puzzled, who should be given to understand, from the Greek text, as by this dictionary he must be, that the Balearic islands, Majorca, Minorca, &c., are in the Euxine sea. These few instances are enough to show, that Mr. Casserly's publisher was not wholly to blame for the defects of his edition.

Dr. Anthon's notes unquestionably show a great deal of erudition, but, being for the most part out of place, it is here little better than cumbrous pedantry. It is, moreover, dis-

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played with an air of pretension, which makes it, to us, extremely disagreeable. Thus, after giving the opinion of Brunck, Degen, and Moebius, that a word in Anacreon should be read ὕλαι, we find the editor saying dictatorially, "The more correct accentuation is undoubtedly ὗλαι"; and, in a note to a passage in Moschus, saying, while he follows the authority of Luzac, almost unsupported, — "There can be but one opinion as to the inferiority of the common lection." These expressions of opinion, for they are nothing more, though they assume the form of oracles, are far from being always correct. For instance, in the seventh section of the Geography of Europe, the author, Diodorus Siculus, says of the Pyrenees; *Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων ἐν αὐτοῖς δρυμῶν, φασὶν ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις ὑπό τινων νομέων, ἀφέντων πῦρ, κατακαῆναι παντελῶς ἅπασαν τὴν ὀρεινὴν χώραν.* On this, Dr. Anthon has, among others, the following note; "ἀφέντων πῦρ, '*who had been careless with fire.*' More literally, 'having neglected fire.' This is often erroneously rendered, 'who had set fire to it.' The source of the mistake is in the Latin version of Rhodomann." Now Rhodomann was somebody; though he happened to be as remarkable for his modesty as for his profound erudition and his consummate skill in Greek learning. One of the most accomplished Hellenists of his time, what he did has not been better done since, till the "new era in American literature." "*Igni a pastoribus injecto*" will no longer "pass current"; it is not "stamped with the sanction of the reigning executive." A new era has opened upon us indeed. So, then, at Patroclus's tomb, Leonteus, "branch of Mars," did not *hurl* the unfashioned "clod of iron," which was at once the disk and the reward of the successful thrower; but he dropped it "carelessly" from his hand; — *Δεύτερος αὖτ' ἀφέηκε Λεοντεὺς, ὄζος Ἄρηος.** Horatius Cocles, it now appears, performed no feat, and got his rations and his farm for nothing. He did not, "accoutred as he was," *throw* himself into the Tiber, but "neglected" his steps and accidentally tumbled in; — *μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀφεὶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν.*† As for Camillus (and this is a case of *fire*), when he headed a party of his soldiers armed with that element, and took his station to windward of the Latin camp, awaiting the fresh breeze of sunrise, it was only that his men might "be

* *Iliad.* xxiii. 841.

† Plutarch. *in Poplic.*, c. 16.

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careless with" their fire; and, if the wooden fortifications of the enemy were soon in ashes, and his victory complete, it was not the result of his warlike art, but a fortunate casualty; — αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τὸ πῦρ ἀφήσειν μέλλοντας ἔχων, &c.*

Dr. Anthon, as to this word, has sagely accommodated his Lexicon to his note.

Most of the new notes in this edition are merely translations of the text, and these are given so constantly, that a careful reader could understand the narrative by reading the notes, without any knowledge of the Greek. The following is a translation, taken at random from the beginning of the Life of Demosthenes, extracted from Plutarch. We have italicized the part of it furnished by Dr. Anthon's notes.

"It is said, that, Demosthenes once complaining to Satyrus, the actor, *that although he is the most laborious of all speakers, and although he has almost expended upon this object the vigor of his bodily powers,* he has no favor *with the people,* but *intemperate* and ignorant men *are listened to and hold possession of the tribune,* while he is overlooked; Satyrus said, 'Thou speakest truly; but, *if thou wilt repeat to me, off-hand, some one of the passages of Euripides or Sophocles,* I will quickly cure the fault.' *And that, Demosthenes having repeated one,* Satyrus, *having taken it up after him, so moulded the same passage, and went over it with an air and delivery so appropriate, that it appeared to Demosthenes altogether different.*"

Besides these translations, there are two notes explanatory of the construction, and several noticing nice points in the meaning of distinct words.

Now there are persons who believe the languages may be best taught by means of translations, and, to such, notes like these will be very acceptable. But to any one else, we are willing to leave the case as the above extract presents it, and to ask whether there is not there too much direct aid given for the advantage of a boy who is expected to make any use of his own intellect.

In such a mass of translations, it may not be surprising that errors should occur; but Dr. Anthon is not the man to plead the length of the work in excuse of them, either as to their frequency or their importance. We have only room to notice a

* Plutarch. *in Camil*, c. 34.

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few. The following passage from the Life of Themistocles; *οὐ Δαρεῖον, οὐδὲ Πέρσας (μακρὰν γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι, καὶ δέος οὐ πάνυ βέβαιον ὡς ἀφιξόμενοι παρεῖχον) ἐπισείων*; is translated in the note to it, "*not holding up before them* (for the purpose of inspiring terror) *Darius or the Persians, for these were far away, and afforded no very sure grounds of alarm, as* (only) *intending to come.*" A more correct translation would seem to be; "and afforded no strong ground of fear that they intended to come." Again, page 113, line 24, the note gives us; "*an engineer, who selects the stone, and points it out to the workmen, directs the whole work,*" instead of "an engineer, who selects the stone, superintends the whole work, and gives instructions to the workmen." On page 142, line 27, a slight inaccuracy in the translation seriously injures the sense. We have, "*The Sphettian Polyeuctus said, that Demosthenes was a most accomplished orator, but Phocion a most influential speaker,*" instead of "*the* most accomplished orator," and "*the* most influential speaker"; the allusion being to the orators of the day, the change of the article is not unimportant. Page 146, line 7, the note reads; "*beholding the countenance of Phocion* (to be) *such as* (it was wont to appear)," for "such as *they had been used to behold it*"; which is far the more natural method of supplying the ellipsis. These errors are but instances of a considerable number; and, though some of them are of little importance in themselves, not one of them ought to have been made in a school-book. There is no more excellent exercise for boys than the correction of bad Latin and Greek, and books prepared for such purposes are found in all the school collections. But nothing can be worse than to place a book, professing to appear in a very "complete and accurate form," in the hands of a learner, who, receiving it as such, must find stumblingblocks on almost every page.

Our readers have had occasion to observe, that the freedom, with which Dr. Anthon has availed himself of the labors of other scholars, renders especially unbecoming the offensive contempt with which he allows himself to speak of their labors. The "Jay-Professor" has acted the part of "Le *Geai* paré des Plumes du Paon," not only in arraying himself in borrowed plumage, but in strutting in it indecorously. This character of his books lessens the pain which we feel in finding ourselves compelled to censure a man, whom we

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believe to be industriously devoted to good learning, and who, from his fortunate position, is so able to advance its interests in this country. He has a task in hand of great importance, for good or evil; and he has our best wishes, that he may execute it in a manner creditable to American scholarship, and such as to promote its growth. Of the thirty volumes, which he has proposed, and which are to be circulated by the largest publishing house in the country, ten only have as yet appeared. In those which remain, we beg him to do himself better justice. Let him prepare them with less self-seeking. Let him strive for the benefit of others, and not for his own glorification; seeking *rem acu tangere*, to *enucleate* his author's meaning, and not to bury it up in chaff. Let him be fair towards his brother scholars in other parts of the country; and let him not even do such injustice to those immediately about him in his own great city, as to suppose that he is there *Anacharsis inter Scythas*, and secure against being brought to his bearings, and taught a just self-estimate, by the observation of his peers. Let him study meekness and modesty, and the *ingenuousness* becoming his vocation. Let him show, by a graceful example, that

> ——"ingenuas didicisse *fideliter* artes
> *Emollit mores;* nec sinit esse" [pace Musarum] *fures*

among true scholars.

Art. XI. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *A Memoir of Mr. John Lowell, Jr., delivered at the Introduction to the Lectures on his Foundation, in the Odeon, 31st December, 1839; repeated in the Marlborough Chapel, 2d January, 1840.* By Edward Everett. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1840. 8vo. pp. 74.

This Memoir, marked by good taste, judgment, beauty of style, and dignity of sentiment, is worthy of its distinguished author. From the nature of its subject, it is less declamatory and brilliant in its tone, than most of the public discourses, with which Mr. Everett has heretofore gratified the public; but it will not be read with less interest or

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pleasure on that account. The style is characterized by that simple, unobtrusive beauty, which good taste requires in a commemorative discourse. The same good taste has dictated the choice of topics and the selection of materials. The reflections and observations are just, appropriate, and not diluted by repetition or too great expansion. Mr. Lowell is spoken of with fulness and freedom, in such manner as to do ample justice to his modest and retiring excellence; and yet, that veil of reserve, which should be thrown over a portion of every man's words and deeds, which are the exclusive possession of his friends and relatives, is never for a moment withdrawn. The subject was one full of melancholy interest. The orator was called upon to speak of the gifts and virtues of a man of singular merit, who was cut off in the prime of life, at the commencement of a very extensive plan of foreign travel, entered upon with the highest purposes of self-improvement and of benefit to others, and who, by the munificent bequest of a large part of his fortune to public objects, manifested that spirit of enlightened benevolence, which had been his ruling principle in life.

In the opening paragraph of the Memoir, Mr. Everett briefly mentions the bequest and the purposes to which it is to be applied.

"The occasion of our meeting, at this time, is of a character not less unusual than interesting. By the munificence of the late Mr. John Lowell, Jr., a testamentary provision was made for the establishment of regular courses of public lectures, upon the most important branches of natural and moral science, to be annually delivered in the city of Boston. The sum generously set apart by him for this purpose, and amounting nearly to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, is, with the exception of the bequest of the late Mr. Girard, of Philadelphia, the largest, if I mistake not, which has ever been appropriated in this country, by a private individual, for the endowment of any literary institution. The idea of a foundation of this kind, on which, unconnected with any place of education, provision is made, in the midst of a large commercial population, for annual courses of instruction by public lectures, to be delivered, gratuitously, to all who choose to attend them, as far as it is practicable within our largest halls, is, I believe, original with Mr. Lowell. I am not aware, that, among all the munificent establishments of Europe, there is any thing of this description upon a large scale; and I cannot but regard it as a conception eminently adapted to the character and wants of our community, and promising to be as beneficial as it is original and generous." — pp. 3, 4.

After a few just and appropriate reflections upon the advantages of lectures as a means of public instruction, Mr. Everett proceeds to speak of the life and character of Mr. Lowell himself. He pays an appropriate tribute to the public services

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and private worth of his paternal and maternal grandfathers, Judge Lowell and Mr. Jonathan Jackson, and gives a very interesting sketch of the enterprise and ability displayed by his father, Francis C. Lowell, to whom American manufactures are so largely indebted. The life of Mr. Lowell himself, till he was about thirty-two years old, was uneventful, but not unprofitable to himself or to others. Born to an ample fortune, and removed from the necessity of earning his bread by the sweat of his brow, he never abandoned himself to indolence or self-indulgence. He was born on the 11th of May, 1799, and entered Harvard College in 1813, but his health did not permit him to complete his collegiate course. In 1816 and 1817, he made two voyages to India, having chosen the profession of a merchant; and, for some years after his return to Boston, he was engaged in commercial pursuits. These, however, did not by any means absorb the whole of his time, none of which was permitted to be unemployed. He collected a valuable library, and read, diligently and profitably, in various departments of science and literature. But he did not seclude himself in the solitude of his library. He engaged, with ardor, in many of the public enterprises of his time; and his time and property were freely spent for benevolent objects. He also took an active interest in politics, believing it to be the duty of every citizen to bear his part in the duty of sustaining our institutions. He was, repeatedly, a member of the city government, and of the House of Representatives, and, in both of these bodies, his industry, good sense, and information, gave him much influence. He was a ready and efficient speaker, as well as a laborious man of business. He was a diligent student of the institutions of his country; and, for purposes of political improvement, attended the debates of the convention for revising the constitution of Virginia, which assembled at Richmond, in 1829.

In 1830 and 1831, he had the misfortune to lose his wife and both of his children. These melancholy bereavements deprived his life of its customary interest, and made his usual pursuits unattractive; and the love of foreign travel, which had always been a strong propensity, came upon him with renewed force, and he resolved to gratify it. His wish was to make a thorough and minute examination of the East. He sailed for Europe in 1832, visited England, France, Italy, Greece, and passed into Egypt, ascended the Nile as far as Thebes, penetrated into Ethiopia, journeyed to the Red sea, sailed to Mocha, and took passage in a steamboat to Bombay, where he arrived on the 10th of February, 1834. He had, for some months, been in a declining state of health, owing

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to the extreme heat of the tropics, fatigue, and the want of medical advice, and a severe shock was given to his system by a shipwreck in the Red sea; and, after struggling with his disease for a short time, he died at Bombay, on the 4th of March, 1836. Mr. Everett, in the Memoir, makes many interesting extracts from his journals and correspondence, which give vivid pictures of the dangers and difficulties he met with, and of the energy and resolution with which they were met and surmounted. We would gladly extract largely from them, and from the Memoir, did our limits permit; but we must content onrselves with a few paragraphs from its close, containing those portions of Mr. Lowell's will, by which the lectures are founded.

"With his first serious illness in Upper Egypt, he turned his thoughts to the land of his birth, and the completion of his testamentary provision for the benefit of his native city. The object of his bequest as set forth in his will, is, 'the maintenance and support of public lectures, to be delivered in Boston, upon philosophy, natural history, the arts and sciences, or any of them, as the trustee shall, from time to time, deem expedient for the promotion of the moral, and intellectual, and physical instruction or education of the citizens of Boston.' After a partial recovery from a severe attack of disease, from which he suffered for five weeks, — in a codicil to his will, written amidst the ruins of Thebes, from a place called Luxor, an Arab village, the whole of which is situated on the remains of an ancient palace, — Mr. Lowell transmits to his kinsman and trustee his detailed directions for the administration of his trust. Of these, the most important are expressed as follows; —

"'As the most certain and the most important part of true philosophy appears to me to be that, which shows the connexion between God's revelations and the knowledge of good and evil, implanted by him in our nature, I wish a course of lectures to be given on natural religion, showing its conformity to that of our Saviour.

"'For the more perfect demonstration of the truth of those moral and religious precepts, by which alone, as I believe, men can be secure of happiness in this world and that to come, I wish a course of lectures to be delivered on the historical and internal evidences in favor of Christianity. I wish all disputed points of faith and ceremony to be avoided, and the attention of the lecturers to be directed to the moral doctrines of the gospel, stating their opinion, if they will, but not engaging in controversy, even on the subject of the penalty for disobedience.

"'As the prosperity of my native land, New England, which is sterile and unproductive, must depend hereafter, as it has heretofore depended, first, on the moral qualities, and, secondly, on the intelligence and information of its inhabitants, I am desirous of trying to contribute towards this second object also; — and I wish courses of lectures to be established on physics and chemistry, with their application to the arts; also, on botany, zoölogy, geology, and mineralogy, connected with their particular utility to man.

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"'After the establishment of these courses of lectures, should disposable funds remain, or, in process of time, be accumulated, the trustee may appoint courses of lectures to be delivered on the literature and eloquence of our language, and even on those of foreign nations, if he see fit. He may, also, from time to time, establish lectures on any subject, that, in his opinion, the wants and taste of the age may demand.

"'As infidel opinions appear to me injurious to society, and easily to insinuate themselves into a man's dissertations on any subject, however remote from religion, no man ought to be appointed a lecturer, who is not willing to declare, and who does not previously declare, his belief in the divine revelation of the Old and New Testaments, leaving the interpretation thereof to his own conscience.'

"Such were the enlightened provisions of Mr. Lowell for the benefit of his native city. Surrounded by the most enduring monuments of human grandeur, he felt how little can be done to elevate the moral nature of man, by exhausting the quarry, and piling its blocks of granite to the clouds. As far as we can judge, from the unparalleled number, and gigantic dimensions, of the temples, palaces, gateways, alleys of sphinxes, and cemeteries, that cover the site, and fill up the environs, of Egyptian Thebes, the resources of the monarchs, who made it their residence, must have exceeded those of the Roman Cæsars, when the world obeyed their sceptre. But, when we inquire after the influence of this mighty monarchy on the welfare of the human race; when we ask for the lights of humanity that adorned its annals, — for the teachers of truth, the discoverers in science, the champions of virtue, the statesmen, the legislators, the friends of man, — it is all a dreary blank. Not one bright name is preserved in their history; not one great or generous deed, if ever performed, has escaped from oblivion; not a word, ever uttered or written by the myriads of rational beings, the lords or the subjects of this mighty empire, has been embalmed in the memory of mankind. A beam of light from the genius of a modern French scholar, cast upon the sculptured sides of obelisks and temples, has redeemed the names and titles of forgotten Pharaohs from ages of oblivion; but no moral Champollion can pour a transforming ray into the essential character of the Egyptian monarchy, and make it aught else than one unbroken record of superstition, ignorance, and slavery.

"Our lamented fellow-citizen, well versed in the history of ancient times, musing amidst the ruins of this unconsecrated magnificence, seems, with a yearning heart, while the hand of disease still lay upon him, to have desired, as far as an individual could effect it, to secure his beloved native land from the blighting influences of those causes, which preyed upon the vitals of this primal seat of empire. These causes were well known to him, — known from history, — known from their existence, at the present hour, in the same wretched region. There was no free cultivation of intellect in Egypt, — no popular education, — no public liberty. The resources of the monarchy were lavished on the wars and luxury of its princes. The soul-crushing despotism of mystery checked all developement of the common mind. In consequence of the slavery of *caste*, religion, instead of being a source of light, of social improvement, and happiness,

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was an additional instrument of subjection. It chiefly employed its energies in the disgusting art of preventing the clay, that perishes, from returning to its kindred dust. Nor was this the worst. The priesthood made themselves the exclusive depositaries of learning. If we can trust the accounts of the ancient writers, the import of those hieroglyphical characters, in which the Egyptian wisdom is recorded, was a mystery known only to the priests, and those to whom, in their secluded cells, they chose to confide it. Well might it have been expected, that the knowledge of it would perish. It had no root in the intelligence of the people; it was the secret of a caste, and it died out with the privileged order by which it was engrossed. The pyramids themselves could not crumble, — the sculptured granite, in that mild climate, could not lose its deeply graven character; — but, instead of handing down an intelligent record of the monarchs who reared their mountain masses, and now slumber in their monumental caverns, they stand but as eternal mementoes, how perishable is all glory, how fleeting is all duration, but that of the improved mind.

"The few sentences, penned, with a tired hand, by our fellow-citizen, on the top of a palace of the Pharaohs, will do more for human improvement, than, for aught that appears, was done by all of that gloomy dynasty that ever reigned. I scruple not to affirm, that, in the directions given by him for a course of popular instruction, illustrative of the great truths of natural religion and the evidences of Christianity, and unfolding the stores of natural science and useful knowledge, — to be dispensed, without restriction, to an entire community, — there is a better hope, that mental activity will be profitably kindled, thought put in salutary motion, the connexion of truth with the uses of life traced out, and the condition of man benefited, than in all the councils, rescripts, exploits, and institutions of Sesostris and his line. I am persuaded, that more useful knowledge, higher views of the works of God, deeper and more searching glimpses into the mysteries of nature, will be communicated in the course of lectures, which will commence next Friday, than lies hidden in the hieroglyphics that cover the Egyptian temples, from the cataracts to the mouth of the Nile, although every character, according to M. Arago's suggestion, should be copied by the Daguerreotype, and fully explained by the key of Champollion. Let the foundation of Mr. Lowell stand on the principles prescribed by him; let the fidelity, with which it is now administered, continue to direct it; and no language is emphatic enough to do full justice to its importance. It will be, from generation to generation, a perennial source of public good, a dispensation of sound science, of useful knowledge, of truth, in its most important associations with the destiny of man. These are blessings which cannot die. They will abide, when the sands of the desert shall have covered what they have hitherto spared of the Egyptian temples; and they will render the name of Lowell, in all wise and moral estimation, more truly illustrious, than that of any Pharaoh engraven on their walls. These belong to the empire of the mind, which alone, of human things, is immortal, and they will remain, as a memorial of his Christian liberality, when all that is material shall have vanished as a scroll." — pp. 64–70.

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2. — *The Great Descender.* By Flaccus. [Knickerbocker Magazine, for January and February, 1840.]

Here is a mock-heroic poem, of very moderate compass, but with a great deal of ingenuity and poetic fire, on the story of Sam Patch, who jumped himself into a strange notoriety and a melancholy fate, a few summers ago. The facts themselves are so ludicrous, yet so thrilling and tragical, — there is such a mixture of the mean and sublime in them, from beginning to end, — that they offer one of the most suitable subjects that can be imagined for a composition of this kind. The poet is compelled to be lofty and droll at the same time. His strain will naturally be wild and serious; for his scenes are cataracts, and the action of his piece is really terrible. And yet he can demean nothing, nor is tempted to throw burlesque over what is too awful for merriment. The task seems to us to be accomplished with no little talent; and indeed could scarcely have fallen into better hands.

New York is happy in the names of its well-known bards, — names that have been mentioned too often in our journal to need being repeated here. This little epic leads us to think, that the list is likely to be increased. But we must leave Flaccus at present under his disguise, and will only present our readers with a taste of his verses, in order to justify our praise. He opens with a very picturesque description of Sam, seated at rainy midnight on the brink of the Passaic Falls;

> "From his drenched hat the rain-drops, gathering slow,
> Drip one by one far down the gulf below;"

And as he sits, he soliloquizes aloud, asking of the stars, — which could not have been visible, by the way, — some method of climbing up to fame.

> "Just then, a sudden meteor, trembling there,
> Slid down the sky, and quenched itself in air."

Again we must interrupt the bard, by suggesting the physical difficulty of tracking meteors through a thick shower. But hear what follows;

> "The hero started; 'Ha! I will obey!
> Renown is mine! — the heavens have marked the way.
> Yon meteor tells me, Wherefore climb at all,
> Since fame as well irradiates things that fall?
> Yon earth-born meteor, spawn of slime and mire,
> More wakes the vision by its dropping fire,
> Than the world-sprinkled heavens, whose lights sublime,
> Have cheered the darkness since the birth of time.

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And more; — does not the monarch of the skies
Go down in glory too, as well as rise?
How many watch him as he sinks away!
How few pay homage to his rising ray!
The lightning's self may glitter as it likes,
'T is ne'er gazetted, save it stoops and strikes.
How many, smitten with the fame it gave,
Have dived in bells far 'neath the ocean-wave!
Or from balloons in parachutes gone down,
Stooping to catch the jewel of renown.
We pass unpraised the stones that round us lie,
But hail them when they tumble from the sky.
The Arch-Fiend's fame no poet's tongue could tell,
Nor history chronicle, until he fell;
And Pisa's tower, so bending, and so tall,
We laud, — that only makes a threat to fall.'"

We do not mean that there are not blemishes in the piece. A critical eye may discover, now and then, an obscurity, or a mixture of metaphor, or even an inadvertency in syntax. But these faults are such as a little care might have avoided; and we are ready to give our cheerful "So be it," to the truly Horatian confidence with which he concludes his theme:

"Yes! I shall buoy thee on th' immortal sea,
Or, failing that, thyself shalt carry me."

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3. — *Rosanna, or Scenes in Boston.* By the Author of "Three Experiments of Living," "The Contrast," &c. Cambridge: John Owen. 1839. 18mo. pp. 134.

This story of the humblest life is written with tact and power. The benevolent purpose of its author, we trust, has before this been answered. The hardships endured by the uneducated and virtuous poor, the misery and degradation of large masses of human beings, living in the very midst of us, have called the attention and awakened the interest of their more fortunate fellow-men, more within the last few years than ever before. It is a good omen, when we find a pen like that of the author of this little book, — a pen capable of adorning the higher spheres of literature, — employed upon the unattractive but important task of delineating the actual scenes of want and woe, which are passing around us. Though rather late in the day, we cordially commend this book, for the vigor and truth of its pictures, the excellence of its style, and the philanthropic purpose for which it was written.

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4. — *A Greek Grammar for the Use of Learners.* By E. A. Sophocles, A. M. Second Edition. Hartford: H. Huntington, Jun. 1840. 12mo. pp. 284.

The merits of Mr. Sophocles's Greek Grammar have come to be well understood; and it is gradually passing into general use in our schools and academies. The clearness and condensation, which are its marked characteristics, will strongly recommend it to instructers. Mr. Sophocles is well known as a gentleman of extraordinary attainments in Greek literature, and of a clear and logical mind. The fact of his being a native Greek, added to his familiar acquaintance, from long and laborious study, with the ancient classics, gives him a great advantage over the authors of most of our grammars; an advantage that will be more highly appreciated, the more the modern Greek is studied in connexion with its ancient mother. To such a man, the Greek is far from being a dead language. In his mind its words excite the living images of country and of home, the sentiments belonging to his nationality, the feelings native to his heart. Many a delicacy of expression, many a refinement of construction, must be perceptible to him, that escapes the notice of the learned Hellenists of other nations. And when he composes a grammar of the ancient language of his country, he does it not from books alone; but he writes with the consciousness of "inward Hellenism," and with a confidence and clearness that no other can.

The first edition of this Grammar was noticed in a former number of this journal.* This second edition contains many improvements upon that; some important additions; some instances of filling out the forms more completely than before. The rules of the Syntax are worded with admirable precision; and the examples to illustrate them are taken from the best authors. We have no hesitation in saying, that, for thoroughness and completeness, for lucid order and terseness of expression, this Grammar is unsurpassed by any in the English language; and, we hope, for the sake of classical learning in the country, that it will come into extensive use.

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. pp. 137 *et seq.*

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5. — *Discourse on the Integrity of the Legal Character, delivered before the Law Academy of Philadelphia.* By Job R. Tyson, Esq., one of the Vice-Provosts. Published by Order of the Law Academy. Philadelphia: John C. Clark. 1839. 8vo. pp. 36.

In substance, this is a sensible discourse. The style is neither pithy nor elegant; nor does the current of thought flow with any rich burden of those sentiments, with which the subject is so well adapted to inspire a cultivated and generous mind. The spirit of the discourse is, however, commendable. We are justly told, that integrity of heart, veracity of tongue, fervent piety, and gentle manners, are the graces which ought always to adorn the legal character.

Mr. Tyson remarks,

"While the study of the law is highly esteemed as an elevated science, there are, perhaps, few objects against which popular prejudice has been so unsparingly directed, as against the legal profession." — p. 5.

An amusing instance of the strength of this popular prejudice occurred, last winter, in the Massachusetts House of Representatives. An order was introduced, and sustained by a respectable majority, requesting the Speaker not to appoint a majority of lawyers upon the important committees on the Judiciary, and matters of Probate and Chancery. Mr. Tyson thinks that this prejudice originates in the misconduct of lawyers themselves; for he says;

"The little arts of chicanery and falsehood, exciting differences, magnifying trivial offences, blurring the reputation of upright men; — in short, gaining an ignominious livelihood by preying upon the ignorant and poor, and plundering the weak and the rich, — are malversations, which have, in some instances, disgraced the exercise of our profession." — p. 11.

This remark is true, and would be so, if made in reference to any other profession, or class of men. But the prejudice is not altogether so just, as it is strong. It has many other causes than the one above alluded to. The superior knowledge of lawyers, respecting the innumerable business transactions, requiring a legal form and mode of execution, excites envy and suspicion in the rest of the community. Again, in any litigated case with which lawyers have any thing to do, one party is, of necessity, a losing party; and it is quite too much to expect of human nature, that "he who feels the rope to draw," &c., will pay, with a good opinion of the law, or of lawyers.

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Men who have not only lost cases, but who deserved to lose them, are very numerous. Many men who go to lawyers for aid, have dishonorable ends to gain, by questionable means. Yet it is an old saying, and a true one, that he who loves the treason hates the traitor. Men cannot possibly think well of those whom they have hired to do their dirty work. There is, of necessity, in every civilized and busy community, a certain amount of honorable business to be done by lawyers. But the evil passions and practices of clients give rise to much more legal manœuvring than all their honest dealings would require. This brings odium upon the profession, to which, nevertheless, it is not so disgraceful as to the community which not only requires such business to be done, but is more willing to pay handsomely for it, than for any other description of legal service.

Mr. Tyson recommends to the profession, that they should refuse to countenance an unworthy member, taking care to distinguish between unworthiness and unpopularity. He says, also, very properly, that the lawyer should mingle and sympathize with the people.

"It is important, that he should be made acquainted with other men and things than law and lawyers; it is his duty to cultivate an expansive philanthropy, and extend a helping hand to all the moral institutions of the age." — p. 16.

This is good advice. Interest, social intercourse, and community of opinion form the strongest bonds of union, and give rise to mutual good opinion among men. Talent alone may command admiration; but admiration itself will beget, in the human heart, a disparaging temper towards its object. Our author says further;

"Professional integrity requires, also, that the lawyer should possess all the learning of his art; that his legal knowledge should be profound and exact, in order that he may direct his client wisely." — p. 17.

"The lawyer in full practice, who faithfully and conscientiously performs his duty, passes a life of thoughtful toil, which it is not easy for an uninitiated public to appreciate. His gains are sometimes believed to be more than are equivalent for his labor. But the ordinary fees of the counsel are incomparably less in amount, than in many departments of life, in which, though less labor is bestowed, and to which inferior qualifications are sufficient, the remuneration is, by no means thought to be disproportioned to the skill and responsibility." — p. 19.

"In the duties of the former, all experience will show how necessary it is to preserve the temper calm and unruffled amidst a thousand circumstances, which are perpetually occurring to try it." — p. 20.

Mr. Tyson very appropriately holds up for our admiration and

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example, the profound scholarship and elegant learning of Sir William Jones, the close legal reasoning and the moral intrepidity of Sir Edward Coke, the fearless integrity of Erskine, the rich learning and generous morality of Mansfield, the gentle humility and fervent piety of Sir John Eardley Wilmot, the classic grace of Blackstone, and the persevering philanthropy of Sir Samuel Romilly ; and of our own countrymen, among the dead and living, he eulogizes with truth and good taste, Marshall, Washington, and Tilghman, eminent judges, and Duponceau, Binney, Sergeant, and Chauncey, distinguished counsellors.

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6. — *Second Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools in Connecticut, together with the Second Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board.* Hartford : Case, Tiffany, & Burnham. 1840. 8vo. pp. 56.

Mr. Barnard, the able and intelligent Secretary of the Common School Commissioners of Connecticut, has brought into this, his Second Annual Report, a vast amount of information, which he has collected by most laborious personal inquiries. He has digested his materials under a few judiciously arranged heads, so as to present a clear and connected view of the whole subject. The reader will be struck, in reading this document, with the care, and candor, and enlightened power shown by the author. He points out the faults of the Connecticut schools with fearless independence, and brings to bear on the subject an accurate knowledge of the systems and means of education at home and abroad. He is thus enabled to throw in weighty suggestions, and to point out the proper course to be taken, in order to reform an institution, — that of Common Schools, — which has so lamentably fallen short of the ends it was designed to accomplish. It is fortunate for the State, that this task has fallen into Mr. Barnard's hands. From him and Mr. Mann, the excellent Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, the community may expect to receive very important benefits. Indeed, such has been the case already. An attention and an interest have been excited with regard to our common schools, which bid fair to place them, insufficient as they have been for many years, upon a respectable footing.

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7. — 1. *A Discourse, delivered in the Church in Brattle Square, on Sunday, May 3d, 1840, occasioned by the Death of the Rev. John T. Kirkland, D. D., LL. D., late President of Harvard University.* By Francis Parkman, D. D., Pastor of the New North Church. Boston: John H. Eastburn. 1840. 8vo. pp. 31.

2. *A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, D. D., LL. D., formerly Pastor of the Church on Church Green, and late President of Harvard University. Delivered in the Church on Church Green, May 3d, 1840.* By Alexander Young. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1840. 8vo. pp. 104.

These tributes to the memory of one of the most distinguished men of New England, are worthy of the subject, and of their authors. The Discourse first named is from the hand of one who had the advantage of personal recollection of much of the course which he was describing, and had been associated in important trusts with the subject of his eulogy. For discriminating comprehension of the character portrayed, or just and touching expression of a sense of its high qualities, it is rare to meet with a performance of the kind, of equal merit. Mr. Young, whose text, (from Daniel v. 11, 12,) — "Light and understanding and wisdom, and an excellent spirit, were found in him," — might almost be imagined to have been written as a description of the character which he treats, has made a more elaborate contribution to the stock of biographies of our worthies; having not only traced with minuteness the eminent career of Dr. Kirkland, showing with a careful specification the circumstances under which his mind was formed, the character of his abilities, attainments, and pursuits, and the extent of his public services, but having presented, in an Appendix, much interesting matter, collected with a true antiquarian zeal, and valuable to the future historian. Mr. Young's diligence of research on this occasion, as well as his judicious and effective treatment of the whole subject, entitle him to the highest commendation, and to the best gratitude of the numbers, who are interested to see due honor done to one, whom, with hearty acclamation, they "rise up and call blessed."

After a few remarks on the connexion of Christianity with letters, and its services to the cause of education, Mr. Young proceeds to an account of the life of Dr. Kirkland. The following is a brief abstract of this part of his Discourse.

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John Thornton Kirkland, a descendant on his mother's side, in the seventh generation, from the renowned Captain Miles Standish, and, upon his father's side, of a race of Christian ministers, was, with his twin brother, George Whitfield, born August 17th, 1770, at the residence of General Herkimer, Little Falls, New York. His father, a missionary to the Oneida Indians, resided with his wife in a log cabin, built by his own hands, and barely furnished with necessaries, at the village of that tribe, called *New Oneida Castle*. His early education, that of a frontier village, was, of course, poor and scanty, but he was blessed with a devoted and intelligent mother. His Christian name was given in honor of a wealthy English philanthropist, who had manifested much interest in our Indian missions. In March, 1784, at the age of thirteen, he was placed at Phillips' Academy in Andover, the scanty means of his parents being made up by the late Lieutenant-Governor Samuel Phillips, who received the young student into his family, and paid for his tuition. He entered Harvard College in the third term of the Freshman year, April 4th, 1786, at the age of fifteen. In the winter vacation of 1787, he volunteered in the little army raised to quiet the rebellion of Shays. He held an honorable standing with the College government, and filled a high place in the affection and esteem of his associates. After graduating at Cambridge, he passed a year as assistant teacher at Andover, and then commenced the study of divinity with the Rev. Dr. West, of Stockbridge, Mass. While continuing this study at Cambridge, he was appointed tutor in logic and metaphysics.

He was ordained as pastor of the New South Church in Boston, February 5th, 1794. He has had beloved and distinguished successors in that sphere of his labors, but, when they are mentioned, it is not in forgetfulness of one who made their place honorable. No ecclesiastical authority or discipline could command such an influence as he won by his upright heart, his kind smile, his eminent discretion, his brilliant mind, his eloquent utterance. He drew around him, into near and dear friendship, men among the most honored of the community and the country. His position was equally commanding and agreeable. He enjoyed, in the fullest measure, the esteem, the reverence, and the household sympathies of a circle much wider than his flock. For sixteen years he discharged the duties of a Christian pastor. He was inducted into the office of President of Harvard University, with high enthusiasm, and with all academic ceremony, November 14th, 1810. For eighteen years he was the light and pride

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of that cherished institution, the chief of a noble band. The College prospered in the increase of its students and of its professorships, of its edifices, its lands, and its library. Its funds received, in various ways, an addition of nearly half of a million of dollars, and much of this liberality was avowedly the result of that wide-spread personal esteem and influence, by which President Kirkland worked upon minds, and hearts, and purses. A stroke of paralysis, in August, 1827, impaired his strength; and he resigned his office, March 28th, 1828. Officers, graduates, and students rendered to him every possible token of their respect and gratitude. His health and strength were in a measure restored by travel at home and abroad for more than three years. For nine months preceding his death, that fine mind, which had taught truth with so much force and beauty, shared in the ruin of a stricken body. Death came to his relief on Sunday morning, April 26th, 1840.

To heap praises upon this beloved and revered man is not so profitable as to view him as an illustration of the great and good work which an individual may accomplish by the influence of character; and it cannot be, that one who so long filled one of the most prominent and honored places in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, — Mr. Young says, the most so, — should pass from life to death, without repeating in his death the weighty lesson he taught in his life. How much our literary and benevolent institutions owe to him; how much the whole community, through the medium of his many pupils, has received from his bright and sagacious mind, his eminent and winning virtues, was felt with a grateful conviction which anticipated all spoken eulogy. There was a touching tribute of respect paid to his character, which comes up to atone for much of the heartlessness, much of the petty vexation, of human life. Around the bier where his altered countenance was laid low in death, were gathered, as sincere mourners, a multitude of every place and profession, especially of the eminent in all literary pursuits. Men of opposite tastes, whom no other occasion would have drawn together, met there, to remember the eloquent preacher, the revered pastor, the beloved President, the true and kind-hearted man.

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8. — *Elements of Mental Philosophy, embracing the two Departments of Intellect and the Sensibilities.* By THOMAS C. UPHAM, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College. Third Edition. Portland. 1839. In Two Volumes. 8vo.

WE confess ourselves not to be of the number of those, who approve of compilations for text-books; and the multitude of "educational works," with which the press is teeming, — of works "prepared," "adapted," and "arranged," — only tends to confirm us in our dissent, and increase our uneasiness on this score. Still, we are bound to say, that our objections apply with less force to Professor Upham's "Elements," than to most publications with a similar design; and, though we are not prepared to wish, that any book of this description should take the place of Locke's "Essay," or Reid's "Inquiry," in the lecture-room, we suppose that they who are of a different mind may have to wait long before another appears of equal merit, on the whole, to the one before us; and we are sincerely glad to find, from the call for a third edition, (which, we further learn, is about to be stereotyped,) that the author's care and labor are likely to meet with a suitable return. The work evinces experience in the details of instruction, a familiarity with Locke and the Scotch metaphysicians, and some acquaintance with the earlier English writers on the subject, and with a few of the Continental writers. The method and diction are, in general, good; the questions come up in their natural order, and are discussed with singular fairness of mind; and pains are obviously taken throughout to simplify the study, and recommend it to the young. Indeed, we should have esteemed the work more highly as a text-book in the more advanced stages of education, if the author had studied less to make it easy. In itself, this often takes from the respect with which a manual would otherwise be regarded; and, besides, in the present case, it is brought about by allowing a disproportionate space to the easy topics, while the most difficult ones are touched upon but slightly, or at most with comparative brevity. It is nothing, that some of the latter are thought by many to involve insoluble questions; for, granting that they do, who does not know, that an *attempt* to solve them is often of more service than any thing else, not only as a discipline in abstract reasoning, but as a means of fixing or clearing up in the mind connected and subsidiary truths?

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9. — *The Utility of Classical Studies, an Address* by N. C. Brooks, A. M. Pronounced before the Philomathean Society of Pennsylvania College, February 14, 1840. Baltimore. John Murphy. 8vo. pp. 35.

The tone of this discourse is generally excellent. The arguments in favor of classical learning are sound and well put. Its advantages to the lawyer, the statesman, the physician, the clergyman, and the man of letters, are well described, in language of sober truth. We do not, however, like the author's attempt to disparage other branches of learning, especially the mathematics. He has here fallen into the common fallacy, that the mathematical studies have a narrowing effect, and frequently lead to skeptical or infidel opinions. How the science, which investigates the sublime laws of the universe, can narrow the human mind, has never yet been shown. How the science, that opens such magnificent views to the contemplation of man, can lead man into disbelief, passes comprehension. True enough it is, that some of the great French mathematicians were infidels, some even atheists; but the truer way of stating the case is, that their infidelity and their atheism were not caused by their mathematics, but were held in defiance of their mathematics. It is as great an absurdity for the mathematician to be an atheist, as for one familiar with the machinery of a watch to deny the existence of a watchmaker. If the French mathematicians were atheists, they were so because the times in which they lived were revolutionary; because their reason was overwhelmed by the mad uproar which surrounded them; and not because of their mathematics.

It is wholly unnecessary to run a parallel between the classics and other studies. They are the basis of a polite education as far as civilization extends. All the utilitarian theories in the world cannot alter that fact, nor lessen the value which men of taste and refinement set upon a familiarity with the masterly works of the ancients. One might as well attempt to convince the artist, that the study of the Apollo Belvedere and the sculptures of the Parthenon ought to be given up, as to convince the educated man of the inutility of the Greek and Roman classics. The reformers of the French Revolution undertook to banish the classics from their systems of education; and the consequences were by no means such as to tempt to a repetition of the experiment; nor is there much danger that the experiment will ever be repeated to any great extent.

We notice an occasional carelessness of expression in this

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discourse. And the name of the historian Xenophon is spelled wrong three times, *Zenophon;* a mistake not uncommon among the uneducated, but hardly to be expected from an advocate of the classics.

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10. — *ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ. Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates, with English Notes.* By Alpheus S. Packard, Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages and Literature in Bowdoin College. Andover: Gould, Newman, and Saxton. 1839. 12mo. pp. 264.

This work is a timely addition to the stock of classical books accessible to American students. Mr. Packard, the able professor of Latin and Greek in Bowdoin College, has performed his duty, as editor, with thoroughness and fidelity. His English notes are written with great judgment, and serve really to illustrate the author, and to help the student over the difficulties of the subjects which the work so often brings into discussion. We are happy to learn, that this edition of the "Memorabilia" has been adopted by several of the colleges of the United States; and we hope to see it in use among them all.

The "Memorabilia," or *Memoirs* of Socrates, stands among the best and most interesting works which have been handed down to us from the ancients. It is a well-drawn picture of the greatest moralist of antiquity, by his most accomplished disciple. It contains the clearest exposition of the opinions and principles of Socrates, with occasional notices of his personal habits, that was made by any ancient writer; and the work is written with the inimitable grace, which distinguished Xenophon so preëminently. But it is obvious, that such a work must contain allusions to philosophical opinions and to the occurrences of the times, which a young scholar cannot be supposed to be familiar with. A good edition, designed for college classes, ought to be furnished with ample explanations, where such allusions occur. This is very well understood by Professor Packard; and he has gone to the best sources, and used them with the facility, tact, and taste of the elegant and learned scholar, and with the discrimination of the practised instructer. His edition will be found serviceable, not only to the young student, but to classical

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readers in the walks of professional life, who desire to know something about the illustrious sage of Athens, beyond the vague traditions of his greatness.

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11. — *A Sermon on the Death of John Lowell, LL. D., delivered in King's Chapel, Boston, March 22d, 1840.* By F. W. P. Greenwood, D. D. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 8vo. pp. 36.

The late John Lowell, uncle of the founder of the Lowell Institute, of whose character and bounty we have given a notice a few pages back, was born on the 6th day of October, 1769, in the town of Newburyport, where his grandfather had sustained the clerical office, and where his father resided, holding the place of Judge of the District of Massachusetts, to which he had been appointed by Washington. After the evacuation of Boston by the English forces, in 1776, the family removed to that place, and there, and at Andover Academy, young Lowell made his preparation for admission to the University. He was graduated at the Commencement of 1786, having, at so early an age, sustained a high rank in a class, which has risen to greater distinction than any, or almost any, other on the College Catalogue. Before arriving at the age of twenty he was admitted to the bar, and was soon engaged in a large practice, which, at the end of fourteen years, when he relinquished it, had become more extensive and lucrative, than had before been enjoyed by any New England lawyer. Having alluded to Parsons, James Sullivan, Dexter, and Harrison Gray Otis, as among his professional associates, Dr. Greenwood proceeds in the following beautiful strain.

"Of others associated with him in friendship, in public concerns, in political views and sentiments, I will mention only three; Fisher Ames, Christopher Gore, and George Cabot. To have belonged to such a company, — his elders, men of virtue as well as of intellect, — to have been received into the hearts, as well as counsels, of such men, is of itself a diploma and a character. They, too, have gone to the land to which our friend has just been taken. As I repeat their names, with those already repeated, and join them with his, the spirit of the past comes over me, and bows me to do justice to it, and reverence. Is there an equal gathering of the illustrious now? Good and nobly gifted men we have among us in the maturity of their faculties, and others are coming on. All times have their men, and will have. This is the order of Providence. I do not believe in the dying out or the deterioration of mind. But I ask, whether there is now such a large and bright constellation as was clustered together at that time? It

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has been my privilege to watch some of its component stars, as in their serene lustre they hung for a while in the west, and then sunk below the horizon; — and, whether I turn to the east, or raise my regards to the meridian, I confess, that though the heavens are full of lights, I see no such congregated and fraternal brightness as was that which is now almost gone down. But all stars must set, and the observers also must lie down in the dust; and this inevitable and constant event should serve to bring back our thoughts to the great and subduing fact of our mortality. We look back on that group of men, young, ardent, talented, eminently active, and useful, and as we look, they grow old, and fade, and retire, — and so will it be with those who are now in the prime of their manhood and fame; the hairs on their brows are preparing to turn gray; and they, too, will soon recede, and give place to others. So let it be, Great Author of our being! — and suffer not those who are endowed with thy gifts, while they stand in the presence of men, to be unprepared for thine, nor to forget that the account which they render to their fellow-mortals is as nothing to that which they must render to thee!" — pp. 10, 11.

At the age of thirty-four, debilitated by his extraordinary toils, which wore upon him the more from his sensitive and zealous nature, and having amassed a fortune sufficient for the supply of all his generous but unostentatious tastes, Mr. Lowell resolved to retire from his profession, and recruit his strength by travel. He accordingly passed two or three years in Europe, during which time he placed before the public some specimens of his elegant literary attainments, in contributions to the pages of the Boston "Monthly Anthology." At this period, it appears, were matured the purposes which dictated the course of a life long preserved by a kind Providence for his own honor and the public good.

"Let me pause for a moment," says Dr. Greenwood, "to show you how far his actual life corresponded with his early resolutions, and was the result of a plan, drawn many years ago, by his calm reflection. I shall do this, by giving an extract from one of his letters, with which I have been favored, written from Paris to one of his brothers, in 1805. Alluding to the state of his property as not justifying him in undertaking to build an expensive house on his return, as had, it seems, been recommended, he says; 'This belief is founded upon a perfect knowledge of my affairs, and a fixed resolution never to go into my profession again *for money*. So far as I can aid any friend occasionally by advice, or even other assistance, perhaps I may be induced to do it, but no further. A little commerce, a little agriculture, much gardening, and a devotion to science, are the objects which I have fondly, perhaps vainly, sketched out as future occupations. I have, too, a strong desire to promote public improvements, and I have the vanity to believe I may contribute a little towards them, without embarking, *which I shall avoid*, in Utopian or dangerous schemes.' How seldom is a happy sketch like this so happily filled out! How seldom is so beautiful a picture of intention and hope so beautifully fixed on the glowing canvass of reality!" — pp. 31, 32.

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Mr. Lowell returned to his home at the troubled period of the second administration of Mr. Jefferson. He had already taken some part in the political movements of the time, contributing to the public journals, and, for three years, acting as a representative of the town of Boston in the State legislature, the only public appointment which he could ever be induced to accept. At the time of his return, the feeble health of Fisher Ames had compelled him to discontinue those brilliant series of communications to the newspapers, through which the principles and policy of the Federal party were urged upon the public mind; and Mr. Lowell, covetous as he was, at this period, of retirement, and averse to conflict of every sort, was prevailed on, by the representations of his political friends, to undertake a task which they esteemed to be of the first importance to the public safety, and such as he, more than any other man, was competent to perform. From 1807 to the close of the war, he accordingly maintained the cause of the opposition to the general government with his signal ability and characteristic zeal, publishing, in this time, no less than fourteen elaborate pamphlets, besides his constant communications to the newspapers, under the names, among others, of the "Roxbury Farmer," the "Old Farmer," the "New England Farmer," and the "Boston Rebel"; and there can be no hesitation in ascribing to him a more important influence, throughout the country, than was directly exerted from any other quarter in support of the Federal cause.

Exertions so effective were not made without personal risk. Violence was often threatened; but the virtues of the man were always too strong for the excitements against the partizan.

"In the times of high party excitement, which have been spoken of, a rumor was circulated, that some of those who had been exasperated by Mr. Lowell's political writings, had threatened to burn his house in Roxbury to the ground. This rumor was so far believed, that some of his friends went out, or sent out, from Boston, to offer themselves as the guard of his person and property for the night. Mr. Lowell expressed his belief, that his fellow-townsmen were incapable of such an act, and insisted on declining the friendly offer of defence. His reliance was well grounded, and no outrage was offered to his habitation, or to him. Indeed, no assistance beyond the limits of the town would in any case have been required; for several of the most respectable inhabitants of Roxbury itself, and of *both political parties*, had called upon him voluntarily, to assure him, that if his house should be attacked by the ignorant and misguided, they stood ready to defend it to the last extremity. It was not long after this, that he had made himself so widely known, had proved himself so useful in that place, by his services in town affairs, and parish committees, and school com-

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mittees, and private counsels, that no man enjoyed so much true popularity, that is, love and respect, as he; and there was not an inhabitant of Roxbury, of any sense or heart, who would not have defended that once obnoxious house, at the risk of his own life. He was not forward to call himself a dear friend of the people, or a lover of the people, or a defender of the people, or in any way to distinguish himself *from* the people; but he showed himself to be simply *one of the people*, ever desirous to do good to all his brethren." — pp. 27 – 29.

With the breaking up of the Federal party after the peace of 1815, Mr. Lowell appears to have considered false interpretations of the Constitution and views of public policy to have gained an ascendency, of which, at least during his time, it would be fruitless to make further attempts to dispossess them. But it was not in his nature, because obstructed and disappointed in endeavours in one way for the public welfare, to allow himself to sink into despondency and inactivity. At that period he abandoned for ever the political *arena*, and scarcely ever afterwards published any separate work, except on a few occasions, when he conceived that cause of secure liberty, which was always near to his heart, to be endangered in another form, by attempts at ecclesiastical usurpation. His few efforts in that controversy, — at two different times, with an interval of ten years, — though regarded by those, who accorded with him in sentiment, as of the utmost value, were so uncongenial with his feelings, that it was only under what he conceived to be urgent reasons of public duty, that he was moved to make them; and, without any change of opinion upon the merits of the questions at issue, he has been known, under a sense of the ill tendency of religious disputes, to express his regret, that he had ever been led to engage in them.

From 1810 to 1822, Mr. Lowell was one of the seven members of the Corporation of Harvard College, to the prosperity of which institution, — as to every thing else to which he gave his mind, — he contributed diligent, intelligent, and most efficient labors. Dr. Greenwood speaks briefly of their great importance, and then goes on;

"Let us turn to another sphere of action. After the death of Judge Lowell, Mr. Lowell had occupied the paternal estate at Roxbury during the warmer months of the year. He entered, 'with all his heart,' into the study and pursuits of agriculture. To see him, and hear him converse, in his farm or his garden, one would suppose that all his occupation was farming and gardening. He would discuss the qualities of a fruit-tree or an exotic plant with the same earnestness, and the same copiousness, and the same ready and various learning, that he would have given to a question of politics, a point of law, or a case of divinity. He was for several years the Secretary of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, and then its President. And so assiduous was

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he in gathering and dispersing abroad all useful and curious information, which might advance the interests of agriculture and horticulture, that a full half of every number of the Journal of the Society, which was published while he was Secretary, was prepared, as I have understood, by his own hand.

"Equally desirous was he to promote, and active in promoting, the cause of general literature and of public charity judiciously applied. They who are acquainted with the origin of the Massachusetts General Hospital, the Boston Athenæum, and the Savings Bank, well know that he rendered to those noble and useful institutions his free and powerful aid in every possible way, and that his name must stand among the first on the lists of their founders. He was also one of the earliest and most strenuous promoters of public lectures in this city, on literary and scientific subjects. No man did more than he, in giving an impulse to this plan of occupying the public mind and in improving the public taste, which, having received its impulse, has since gone forward with such remarkable progress and favor.

"One more walk of usefulness I must glance at, in which Mr. Lowell was constantly to be found, not so public as the others, but not yielding to them in real importance. I refer to the legal advice and services, which, though he had withdrawn from legal practice, he rendered to various public bodies, to his friends and acquaintance, to all with whom he was in any way connected. He would read volumes and write quires, in this work, on a single case. In this manner, estates were settled, acts of incorporation drawn, wills made, references attended to; and litigation was prevented, and quietness and harmony were preserved, to an extent and amount which are not easily to be appreciated. These services were gratuitous. He would receive no compensation for them. * * * * * Indeed, it was one of his characteristics, that he was not at all desirous of amassing wealth. He valued independence of circumstances for himself and his family; that independence he had achieved by his youthful toils; and he had no wish for more.

"In this connexion, I may say a word, and but a word, of his private charities. With him they were truly private, and he never blazoned them, nor spoke of them. * * * * * In truth, Mr. Lowell was never happier than when he was conferring favors on others. He was a good neighbour. He loved to disperse abroad whatever he had, — the seeds of his garden and the fruits of his mind, — and he fully accorded with the sentiment of the Son of Sirach, 'Wisdom that is hid, and treasure that is hoarded up, what profit is in them both?'" — pp. 22–26.

Though we have made large extracts from Dr. Greenwood's Sermon, we do violence to ourselves not to add to them. Rarely is so beautiful a tribute paid to departed worth. Most rarely does distinguished worth appear, such as to justify such a tribute. To enumerate the eminent public services of Mr. Lowell, — to say, that, in the list of public improvements made, in his time, in the community to which he belonged, it would be hard to name one, which is not under important obligations to his energy and talents, and the confidence which these and

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his virtues inspired, — would be to recite but a part of his claims to honorable remembrance. A conference with him, on any occasion, which called for the counsels of wisdom and kindness, was, to numbers, whose occasions the world does not know, the first occurring and always profitable resource; and his consistent agency and example, in private relations as in public labors, were those of a just, irreproachable, friendly, philanthropic, Christian man. The ardor of temperament, which urged him forward so strenuously in the furtherance of good objects, would sometimes betray him into an ill-weighed vehemence of expression; but unkindness was an utter stranger to his heart; the man of large experience and many conflicts was as gentle and tender as a child. When he had examined a subject, his perceptions of its merits were so clear, that his assertion of them to a stranger might appear positive and peremptory. But never was an impetuous or a sluggish mind more perfectly candid and open to new convictions. Question an opinion, which he had most thoroughly considered and confidently entertained, he would listen, like a learner, to find, whether there was any new view of it to be presented, and, if so, to allow it full weight; and many a common man, in his society, has felt even oppressed to observe, with what modesty, respect, — "*humility*," as Dr. Greenwood well says, — every suggestion was received, and how gratefully all that might be good in it was welcomed. If ever there was "meekness of wisdom," it was in him.

"Shall I say," asks Dr. Greenwood, in concluding his discourse, "that such a man as this was beloved, truly, warmly, by his family, by every dweller under his roof, by every one who had the privilege of knowing him? It is unnecessary. Shall I say that his death is a great loss to his friends and the community? Irreparable it indeed is to his friends, great to the community; and it is to be deplored. But let us, rather, be thankful to God, that the labors, and counsel, and example, of so true a man were continued to the full limit, and beyond, of threescore years and ten." — p. 34.

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12. — *Discours de M. Le Procureur Général, Audience Solennelle de Rentrée de la Cour Royale d'Aix, 4 Novembre,* 1839. Aix. 16mo. pp. 39.

Publications of the character of this excellent address of the *Procureur Général*, at the opening, last autumn, of the *Cour Royale* of Aix, are very valuable to foreigners, as intro-

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ducing them behind the scenes in respect to the state of society and sentiment in the centre of European civilization. The subject is the press, with its influence and effects upon popular opinion and the general welfare. This is a matter, perhaps, of more importance in France than in any other nation of the present day. *Journalism* is one of the mightiest agents at work there; journalism overthrew the old government and established the new; journalism has raised most of the leading men in the affairs of France to their present preëminence. The *Procureur Général* points out these facts with much force and clearness, and illustrates the duties of governments and of citizens, with regard to this subject, in a striking manner.

The address is written exceedingly well. It shows a just regard for the cause of order and good laws, and an enlightened estimate of popular liberty, and its best guaranties, an unshackled press and the diffusion of knowledge. At the same time, the writer is fully aware of the abuses to which the press may be subjected; of its daring falsehoods, and unbounded licentiousness. In the course of the address, he cites a remarkable passage from one of Mr. Jefferson's Messages, where the occasional virulence of partisan journals is well and strongly described, and weighty hints are thrown out as to the best method of meeting them.

If views, like those contained in this address, are scattered over the Provinces of France by the public officers, the people must be in a fair way to enjoy a rational and regulated liberty.

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13. — *Faust; a Dramatic Poem.* By Goethe. *Translated into English Prose; with Notes.* By A. Hayward, Esq. First American from the Third London Edition. Lowell: Daniel Bixby. 1840. 16mo. pp. 317.

The merit of this translation has given to its author an eminent literary rank, both in his own country and in Germany. A version of a foreign author was never more laboriously and conscientiously performed. Mr. Hayward spared no pains to make his work a complete transcript of its original, and he succeeded. It is a fine specimen of the capabilities of the English language; of pure, significant English; and, though it is in prose, it is infinitely better, whether we read it as a work by itself, or as a representation of the

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German original, than all the poetical translations, — the Fausts in "*numerous* verse," — which have challenged the approbation of the literary public within the last six or eight years. It ought to have been republished before this; but better late than never. It is not, certainly, the sort of goods, — though it is very good indeed, — that we should have looked for from the bee-hive city of Lowell. Is it possible, that a taste for German literature is spreading among the fair of the factories? We have our suspicions. We remember to have heard, that a popular transcendental lecturer was most popular there. There may be, after all, some hidden affinity between cotton-spinning and spinning transcendentalism; between carpet-weaving and weaving wild and shadowy speculations like those of the German Muse.

The edition is really a very handsome one. The same publisher, we believe, sent out, a year or two since, a neat edition of the poems of George Herbert. And thus we are indebted to the good city of spindles for the first, and as yet the *only*, American edition of the most spiritual of the old English poets, and the wildest of the German dramas. It is a good beginning. We hope the publisher will see no cause to repent of his undertakings.

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14 — *Rhinoplastic Operations, with some Remarks on the Autoplastic Methods usually adopted for the Restoration of Parts lost by Accident or Disease.* By J. Mason Warren, M. D. 8vo. pp. 28.

This little pamphlet, now republished from the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal," is altogether creditable to the author. The operations themselves exhibit a high degree of surgical talent; of sagacity and good judgment in their conception, and of adroitness and skill, as well as persevering assiduity, in their execution. The history of the operations is a very good specimen of what such a history ought to be; a simple description of each case, with a plain narrative of the treatment, and a few judicious and instructive remarks, all in straight-forward, sensible English, without the least parade or affectation of any kind.

It is not a little curious, that the operation of Talicotius, after having been for so many years a subject of incredulity and ridicule, should at length come to be established as a

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highly useful part of surgery. Even now it is hardly easy to discuss the matter without some mixture of the ludicrous in our feelings. And yet, to the poor wight who has lost that imposing feature, the nose, it is any thing but a pleasantry. The sketches, or portraits, as in truth they are, which accompany the descriptions, furnish a very impressive view of the improvement of the physiognomy effected by the restoration of this organ. In the first of these cases, the young man was shut out from society and almost from business, by the deformity of his visage, and the feelings produced by it. He is restored to decency of appearance and self-respect, and is able to meet his associates on equal terms, and without mortification. In this case the work of destruction had been very extensive ; not only the skin, but the whole of the cartilage, *septum*, and bones having been destroyed by disease ; and it is remarkable that the restoration should have been so perfect, and that the new organ should wear so well. It has now borne the test of more than three' years use, and maintains its integrity as a respectable and comely feature.

In the next case (next in chronological order), although the destruction was of less extent, the deformity was such as entirely to destroy the prospects in life of the unfortunate subject. This case is instructive in another point of view. A wart upon the tip of the nose induced the patient to apply to a *cancer doctor*, a species of quack to be found in every part of the country, by whose applications the organ was corroded away so as to produce the deformity of which we have spoken. The restoration was as perfect in this as in the former case ; and indeed more so, inasmuch as the preservation of the bones and cartilages secures to the renovated organ all the *stability* as well as symmetry of its former condition.

In both these cases, the skin, &c., to supply the place of the lost part, was taken from the forehead, being dissected up and twisted around into its new position. Of course it was not wholly separated from its old attachments, until a sufficient union had been formed with its new relations. The wound on the forehead healed without difficulty, and with only a moderate and by no means an unsightly cicatrix. Even this was avoided in the remaining case. The extremity only of the nose being diseased, Dr. Warren removed the diseased portion, and immediately replaced it by sound skin from the patient's arm, dissected up in a suitable form, and carefully adjusted to its proper situation. As in the other cases, a pedicle was left until the new union was formed. This involved the necessity of confining the arm in contact with the

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face, while the process was going on. On the fifth day the arm was liberated from its severe constraint, and, we rejoice to say, the result was entirely satisfactory. This is the true *Talicotian* operation, in all its parts; and its success was complete. We have seen the patient, and a very fair nose he wears upon his face. Indeed, were it needed, we might bear personal testimony to the accuracy and fairness of the reports of all the cases, having repeatedly seen one of the patients, and known much of the others.

The importance of these operations is not limited to their bearing upon the particular deformity removed by them. Other lost parts may be, and repeatedly have been, restored in a similar manner; parts, whose functions are even more important to the comfort, though perhaps less essential to the beauty, of the individual concerned. Nor are they less instructive in respect to the practicability of preserving sound parts accidentally divided. Many such parts have been thrown away as useless, and the person left mutilated for life, while it now appears that they might have been preserved, if they had been promptly replaced, and retained in their true position.

NOTE.

In our last Number, we animadverted on an article in the January Number of the "New York Review," entitled "Politics of the Puritans." The author of that article has transmitted for publication the following reply to our strictures, in the form of a letter to the Editor of this journal.

"When the editor of a periodical, or a reviewer, in the exercise of a sound discretion, finds occasion to question *the conclusions* of another writer, or even to doubt his *facts*, no one has a right to complain; not even the man, whose facts or conclusions have been controverted. But, when a writer or reviewer goes further than this, and imputes to his author that which implies bad *motives*, the case is altered. The accused has then *just cause of complaint;* and of right is entitled to be heard in self-defence. And it is because the writer of the article in the last number of the 'North American,' entitled 'Politics of the Puritans,' has done this, while speaking of the writer of an article in the 'New York Review,' with a similar title, that the author of that article feels called upon to address you

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this note. But he wishes it to be distinctly understood, that he does not consider himself entitled, and will not attempt to go into a discussion of *the merits* of the question in the 'North American.' That has been done in part, and (with permission of the editor of that valuable periodical) will hereafter be continued, in the 'New York Review.' His only object now is, to correct certain *misapprehensions* of the author of the article in the 'North American'; and to show, that the charges made against the author of the article in the 'New York Review,' are, to say the least, *not well sustained.* Nor will he allow himself to allude to certain would-be *sharp* speeches and witty sayings, uttered against him by the author in question; as he has a single point in view, an answer to the inquiry, *What is truth?*

"But, lest your readers should not bear in mind those things to which I allude, allow me to refresh their memories with a few brief quotations.

"'For a *disingenuous use of authorities*, ... on colonial history, [this article] has not been exceeded since the days of George Chalmers.' — p. 460. 'There is *a contempt of facts* about it that is positively overwhelming.' — p. 443. 'It is difficult to show an instance in which *the facts of history* have been more singularly *perverted.*' — p. 439. Now what is the evidence by which these weighty charges are sustained? On page 53 of the 'New York Review,' it was said; 'Surveying in this manner [the manner therein described] *the nature of the contest in England, between Churchmen and Puritans*, we shall find it merely *a political*, NOT, as it is usually represented, *a religious one.* This may be fairly inferred from what is said by both of our authors,' &c. This is the passage *as printed* in the 'New York Review,' though not *precisely* as quoted by the author of the article in the 'North American'; and the position taken by one is of course denied by the other. The passages quoted from 'our authors,' in the 'New York Review,' were from Professor Kingsley, (p. 55.) 'Their [the Puritans'] opposition to the Church of England, was mainly political, and limited in a great measure to discipline.' It is not pretended, that the 'New York Review' is mistaken here, but that Professor Kingsley is mistaken, and that *he* 'goes too far.' For our own part, we shall feel entirely safe, while Professor Kingsley is our file-leader. Nor is it pretended that Mr. Bacon is not correctly quoted. Nor is the position denied, that 'the ulterior object of any party,' — 'the end sought,' should be the criterion for judging of the 'nature of the controversy.' Nor is the position denied, that the 'real contest between Churchmen and Puritans was for the political

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ascendency ; Churchmen desiring to continue prelacy as the religion of State, while the Puritans were striving to elevate Presbyterianism to the same post. These not being denied, as indeed they cannot be, where is our 'disingenuous use of, or contempt for authorities'? Why, simply this, that when two Puritan eulogists *confess*, that the Puritans were a 'political,' as well as 'religious party,' and their opposition confined '*mainly*' to questions of 'discipline,' we *inferred*, that, *the end sought* being political, the contest was also political. This seems to us to be a mere matter of *opinion*, and no more authorizes our reviewer to make the foregoing charges against the 'New York Review' than they would authorize us to make them against him. Besides, we had taken into consideration a great variety of topics, not even alluded to in the 'North American.'

"Again, on pp. 441–443, our author contrasts an extract from Lord Clarendon, with one from the 'New York Review,' for the purpose of contradicting the latter. Now we marvel that he forgot, that the language of one author, quoted for the purpose of contradicting another, *should speak of the same things*. Thus he should have seen, that as the time we spoke of covered the space from 1570 to 1630, and as Lord Clarendon's language is wholly subsequent to 1633, the time of Laud's translation to Canterbury, the one does not speak of the same things, and therefore cannot contradict the other. But our author says, 'It is by no means clear, (as alleged in the 'New York Review,') that the motive for granting these charters, was to get rid of a dangerous faction.'— p. 443. That the Puritans were regarded as a faction *by the government*, is not, and cannot be denied ; and Hutchinson, (I. 45,) *suggests* this very reason as a probable one why such charters were granted. Nor does the fact, 'that Bancroft and Laud procured orders for the detention' of some or many, when they saw the tide of emigration swelling, and rolling on, disprove at all, as we can see, the idea that this policy *originated* in a particular way, or *was acted upon* in a particular manner.

"Again, our author says, page 444, in reply to a statement of ours, that 'nothing could be more arbitrary, nor more regardless of the principles of civil liberty, than the first organization of the corporation, as it was proposed to take place, under the natural and ordinary construction of that instrument, whilst it remained in England.' This may be the honest *opinion* of our reviewer, but it contrasts strangely with the history, and with the charter itself. But it is not for us to go into a defence of that instrument ; certainly not in this place. Yet we may be allowed to inquire, *if* the 'natural and ordina-

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ry construction of the charter, whilst it remained in England,' was entirely 'regardless of the principles of civil liberty,' *how* mere exportation should render it a model for free governments, as it was long considered? Besides, is it not true, that the question of removing *the charter* to this country was made the subject of legal inquiry? And is it not true, that it was removed 'by general consent of the company'? And when they arrived here, was not *that* the groundwork of all their civil regulations? And were not some of their measures objected to, after they came to this country, *on the ground* that they were contrary to the charter? And were not some of the very first laws which they enacted after their arrival here, in direct opposition to the *spirit* of their charter? We confess ourselves utterly at a loss to see, how the removal of an instrument, which was utterly 'regardless of the principles of civil liberty' in one place, should render it fraught with freedom in another.

"Again, our reviewer professes great astonishment at the idea, that Charles the First should be called 'the protector of liberty in any shape.'—p. 443. The language quoted by the reviewer names no one, but the time spoken of in the quotation, covers part of the reign of James, and the whole of the reigns of Charles the First and Second. Now we cannot properly occupy the pages of the 'North American,' in citing authorities in proof of the language, which our reviewer says shows such 'a contempt of facts'; but must content ourselves with a few plain and pertinent inquiries. Did not the settlers of Massachusetts, did not they, among one of their very first laws, enact one, that none but a church member should be admitted a freeman? And was not this in opposition to the spirit of their charter? And did not the King and Council object to this proceeding? And did not the Colonial Assembly repeal it in *appearance*, though not in *fact?* And was not this in reality, one of the reasons for taking away this charter? In short, did not the colonists hold on to this and similar laws, *as long as they had the power?* And did not the kings of England object to the exercise of such a power? And did they not at length cause their charter to be taken away from them by a legal process, for these and similar causes? And did not their subsequent charter confine them within narrow limits? And was not that charter, until quite recently, the fundamental basis of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts? And was not a similar charter the only Constitution of Connecticut, until within the present generation? And was not the charter of Maine still more free than either that of Massachusetts or Connecticut? In short, were not the TWO GREAT PRINCIPLES

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of popular liberty, UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, and THE RIGHT OF THE MAJORITY TO GOVERN, were not both of these, in point of fact, contained in those early charters? And were not all the laws of the colonists *in abridgment* of those principles, in opposition to the spirit of their charters? And were not these principles, as contained in these charters, for a time protected by the kings of England? Some of these inquiries may possibly be *inconvenient* to the reviewer; but he will pardon one who has been accused of a 'contempt of facts,' jogging his memory a little before he utters other charges of this character.

"Now, if the facts are as these questions imply, did the colonists *understand* the principles of those 'institutions,' which had been created for them? Or did they act upon them? Where was their love of freedom, when the Browns were sent back to England for preferring the 'Book of Common Prayer' to extempore effusions? Where, when *all* the friends of Henry Vane were turned out of office, because Vane himself had become obnoxious to some of the ruling powers? Where, when towns and individuals were fined £20, £40, and £100, for entertaining any stranger above a given time, lest Vane's friends should be increased, and he reinstated in office? Where, when 'toleration was preached against as a sin'? Now what is the fundamental principle, which lies at the bottom of all our civil institutions? Is it not the right of *the people*, not a *part* of the people, but the *whole* people, to govern? Now our reviewer says, (p. 434,) that, 'in looking after the *origin* of their establishment [that is, this and other similar principles], we did not suppose that there could be any more hesitation in ascribing it to the agency of the Puritans, than in ascribing the doctrine of gravitation to Newton, or the overthrow of the infallibility of Rome to Luther.' If by the 'agency of the Puritans,' is only meant, that the Puritans were parties concerned, the position is not denied. But if any thing more is intended, we should be glad to hear some of his answers to the above questions.

"The position of our reviewer, that the Puritans 'did *originate* and perpetuate those principles, which form at once the basis and characteristic of our political institutions,' p. 444, intended to appear as the denial of a position in the 'New York Review,' does not meet the point at which it seems to have been aimed. The question of the *origin* of these principles, has been carefully investigated in a former number of the 'New York Review' (January, 1838); and upon the accuracy of the history contained in that article, must depend the soundness of our position concerning 'the *origin* of those

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principles' which have given rise to our present government. *That* article is the proof of the fundamental position taken in the one on the 'Politics of the Puritans.' So long, therefore, as *the history* of that article remains untouched, it cannot be necessary for us to spend any time in controverting opinions at variance with the conclusions there drawn. If our reviewer will take that article, and examine all *the history* of it in its connexion and bearing, and will study it as thoroughly as the author of it did, we presume he will not hesitate to conclude, that the creation of those institutions, which developed those principles of freedom, that form the chief characteristic of our government, was the *natural* result of a series of events, reaching back centuries before the name of Puritan had an existence, — that circumstances at one time arrayed them in favor of those principles in England, *as far as understood;* that circumstances afterwards arrayed them in opposition to some of them for a time in this country, and that still other circumstances developed those principles more fully, and arrayed the colonies in their favor. In all this he will see a chain of events, which, under God, has reared the beautiful fabric of our republic, and in which circumstance, rather than design, had caused the Puritans to act a conspicuous part.

"But there is one other charge made by the reviewer in the 'North American,' to which I have not alluded, but which I must not pass over; and that is, 'falsification of authority.' — p. 447. Now what does the reviewer mean by 'falsification of authority'? One would suppose that it was misquoting, or the application of language used in reference to one point, to that used in reference to another, as is done by our reviewer on page 444 (See 'New York Review,' p. 62); or the garbling of a passage, *so as* to make it tell a different story from what the author intended. But no charge of this kind is made against the author of the article in the 'New York Review.' The whole of the offence on which this very serious accusation is based, is the quotation of a passage from the 'Planter's Plea,' *precisely* as it stands in the book; except, that some of the words not in *italics* in the original work, were printed so in the copy; and that the *examples* cited by the author of the 'Plea,' in illustration of his principles, were not quoted by the reviewer. Now we are sorry to be obliged to turn upon the author, and accuse him of doing *those very things*, in the very article in which he makes this charge against us. Thus, on page 437, he quotes from the 'New York Review,' page 53, and professes to give it, 'with its emphatic words and small capitals'; and yet there are *forty-one words* italicized in the original article, not itali-

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cized in the 'North American.' And again, on page 443, *six entire lines* of a quotation are italicized in the 'North American,' when not a word of it is italicized in the 'New York Review.' And yet, when the 'New York Review' italicized *a line and a half* of a quotation, it is charged with quoting as 'it is *not* in the original,' and the 'not' is made emphatic, and the writer charged with 'falsification of authorities.'

"But the writer says, 'the passage is so prepared [what does he mean by *prepared?*] as to leave the impression on the mind of the reader, that it was intended by the writer to apply to the Puritan colonists.'—p. 447. If our reviewer had copied what precedes and follows the quotation in the 'New York Review,' it would not have been necessary for us to have alluded to it at all. But as this 'preparation of the passage' was made *not* in the 'New York Review,' we will quote a few lines of the comment in the 'New York Review,' that it may be seen with what intelligent discrimination our author read the article to which he replies.

"The 'Plea' commences with an examination of the 'ground and warrant of colonies.' The second chapter is an answer to the question, '*What ends may be proposed in planting colonies?*' To this the author answers, first; [here follows the quotation.] The author then proceeds to show, by various reasons, that the English nation is competent to undertake the task of colonizing, and that New England is a suitable place for planting a colony. Then follows what our author calls 'a series of partial quotations,' but which, in point of fact, is the *exact statement* of the author's arguments, *in his own words*, without any qualification or abridgment. Then follows a statement of some of the objections replied to in the 'Plea,' *in every instance*, in the precise language of the author of the 'Plea,' without any alteration, except that *one word* is printed in italics, that is not so in the original. Now it is utterly unpardonable in our reviewer, upon such a state of facts, (and we challenge him to disprove this statement,) to accuse another of 'partial' quotations, and 'falsification of authorities.'

"There are several other points in the article of our reviewer that do us quite as much injustice as this; but, as we have trespassed so long upon your time, we will mention only one more. On page 448, the reviewer accuses the 'New York Review' of 'ungenerous perversion of the candor of the "Planter."' Now wherein consists this perversion? The 'New York Review,' in order to show 'that the advancement of the Gospel was [not believed by their opponents] to

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be the *sole*, or *chief* object of their emigration,' quoted the following language from the 'Plea.' 'As it were *absurd* [the italics are ours] to conceive that they have all *one mind*, so it were *more ridiculous* to imagine they all have *one scope*. *Necessity* may press some ; *novelty* draw others ; *hopes of gain* may prevail with a third sort.' On this the 'New York Review' remarks, 'It is here confessed by one of the party, that 'necessity,' 'novelty,' and 'hope of gain,' . . . . . *were among* the causes that moved the colonists to come to this country.' But our reviewer says, the '"Planter" does not confess' this, ... that 'he only argues . . . . . that . . . . . there *might be* a variety of motive,' &c. The language of the 'Planter' is, that it is '*absurd* to suppose they have all *one mind*,' and 'more ridiculous to imagine they all have *one scope*,' or motive. We will not debate the question, whether this amounts to a confession or not. The other charge of 'falsification of authorities,' which our *polite* reviewer urges as evidence, that the author of the article on which he was commenting, 'did not intend "to prove" any thing, nor to hold fast to that which was otherwise than bad,' is of the same stamp. The fact is simply this, that, when quoting a passage from the 'Planter,' to prove the probable *number of* MOTIVES by which the colonists were influenced, we did not also quote what he said about the *number of men* who were influenced by these motives. Besides, one was the confession by a witness, against himself, and the other a statement of another, and an entirely different fact, in his own favor. Now we quoted all that was said on the subject under consideration, and that *precisely* as it was written ; and the only omission is that of something else, in no way connected with the point we were examining.

"Allow me, Mr. Editor, to return my thanks to yourself for your politeness in receiving and publishing this correction ; and, through you, to give my respects to the author of the review we have been considering ; and, if it be not improper, to suggest the propriety of his hereafter reading the article he attempts to review, more thoroughly than he seems to have done in this case. But at the same time, while I entertain none other than kind feelings, either towards the Puritans or their descendants, should it become necessary, the author of the review in question, will ever find me ready to 'meet him at Philippi.'"

So far the letter of the New York Reviewer. We reply ;

If there is one quality, more than any other, absolutely indispensable to the right management of a journal professedly

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devoted to criticism, we hold that to consist in its freedom. For without this, it is clearly impossible to furnish to the public such judgments upon the merits or defects of style, sentiment, and reasoning that may distinguish the most current literary performances of the time, as may be depended upon, and as they have a right to expect from the nature of the promises that are held out to induce them to support it. Yet, that freedom can be exercised without occasionally inflicting a little pain upon sensitive authors, and perhaps arousing a spirit of retort in them, is not to be expected. We can easily understand why it is that writers find no pleasure in a rectification of their errors, and are excited to indignation by an exposure of their defects. Nor is it any cause of wonder, that they should regard even the most moderate castigation as a breach of the canons of politeness. No quantity of sugar can entirely overcome the bad taste of a medicine. Neither ought it to be hoped or wished, that the salutary operation of truth should ever be in any degree neutralized by the deceptive medium in which it is conveyed. We never seek to give offence unnecessarily. The twenty-five years' record of our proceedings stands before the world in proof of our assertion. But when an occasion arises, in which it may be taken through the simple performance of our duty, we should hold ourselves false to the trust we have assumed, if we were deterred from it by a fear of that consequence.

It is with no surprise we find, that our article in the last Number, upon the "Politics of the Puritans," has given some offence. We could hardly have weighed the charges which we felt ourselves compelled to make against the writer in the "New York Review," whose article was the subject of comment, without understanding the nature of the operation they would probably have upon him. We therefore expected, that he would endeavour to explain, or at any rate to reply. But we did not expect, we confess, that he would desire to make our own journal the medium of communication with the public, or follow any other course than that plainly before him of rejoinder in the pages of the Review which he first occupied. It is true, that he claims of us simply the right of correcting what he is pleased to call our "misapprehensions," and of refuting our "charges," and reserves to himself the other measure as a subsequent and more effective resource; but as, in the exercise of that right, he in point of fact uses it only to repeat his argument, we conceive that the distinction attempted to be drawn, is hardly marked enough to entitle him to the uncommon privilege he craves. If we should in all cases be held bound to open our pages to papers, purporting to be the explanations of au-

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thors, whose pride and self-love may be wounded by our candor, it is very probable, that the "North American Review" would become a mere catalogue of personal grievances, instead of, what we wish it to be, an independent and unfaltering expression of the truth.

It has been, therefore, with great hesitation, that we have come to the decision to publish the letter which precedes these observations. We have come to it, not because we think the author has a particle of foundation in justice for his complaint of us, or that he has succeeded, in any degree, in rectifying his position in those points wherein we took the liberty to censure it, but solely because we were unwilling that he should, as a brother reviewer, have it to say, that even a most unusual degree of courtesy had not been extended by us to his request. When, in the performance of our ordinary duty, we perceive that unpleasant feelings have arisen, we are disposed to make every allowance for them, and perhaps even to stretch a point rather than expose ourselves to a charge of illiberality or unkindness. At the same time, whilst in this particular instance we depart from the only rule known to critical magazines like ours, that of adhering to criticism, and rejecting controversy, we wish it to be distinctly understood by all authors who may hereafter be disturbed by our censure, that this must not be regarded as a precedent, and that these pages must not the more be made, by the present example, a scene for any petulance of theirs. There can be no necessity why we should be burdened with complaints, whilst so many different modes of exhaling them lie open in every quarter of the United States. If we ever commit injustice, the means of appealing to the public against us are always at hand. And that public will always be disposed to lean to the merciful side, whenever the circumstances of the case will allow it. If a Review in America is *unduly* severe, the Review is most likely to pay the penalty for it. The only justification to be made for it, will be in its admitted justice; and by that test we are willing to abide.

Having premised thus much regarding the terms upon which we consent, for this time, to admit an author's explanation, we will now proceed to the examination of what that explanation is in this instance worth. And, first, in respect to *motives*. Our author complains of us, not for imputing to him bad motives, since this he cannot pretend, but for imputing to him "that which implies bad motives." To which we must reply, that we are wholly unconscious of having imputed any motives, bad or good, directly or indirectly. We knew nothing of the writer of the particular article in the "New York Review," upon which we commented, and sought not to go beyond what

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he had shown of himself in it. Our design in taking it up was to prove that he was perverting history, by means obviously unfair; but whether he was doing it for some purpose of his own, or for amusement, or from mere caprice, we did not seek to investigate, nor care to know. With motives, we conceive that reviewers have nothing to do. Their province is not to go beyond the record immediately before them; and to that, it will be found, we strictly limited our examination.

But, even if we had departed from what we held to be the proper course, and had entered into a discussion of the possible inducements, in the mind of our author, to the unusual and extraordinary tenor of argument adopted by him, we might have put ourselves in the wrong towards the public, but we could hardly have done the same towards him. It does not lie with an author to complain of an insinuation made of bad motives in himself, who does that very thing to others, and who rather goes out of his way to do it too. We did not perceive, in either of the discourses by Professor Kingsley and Mr. Bacon, which he took for the subject of his remarks, any particular cause for believing that they had other motives in writing them, than those which were apparent to everybody. Yet mark how they are spoken of, in the article in which he treats of them.

"Rather would we go backward, like the dutiful sons of Noah, and cover up the nakedness of those, whose memories we love and cherish. But when those, who claim to be the only legitimate descendants of the 'pilgrim fathers,' show a disposition, on every possible occasion, to treat these panegyrics as facts, by which they themselves are to be exclusively benefited, and seek every occasion that will permit their being turned to a sectarian advantage, it becomes a different case. Under this aspect of the subject, it will be seen, that many of the Puritan eulogists may have another, perhaps, with them, a weightier motive to induce them to laud and magnify their fathers' virtues, than mere reverence for their characters and institutions; that they may have personal, political, or sectarian interests to be advanced by it. By thus eulogizing and elevating the character of the 'pilgrim fathers,' they *may* hope to justify their separation from, and subsequent hostility to, the Episcopal Church; and, at the same time, to excuse and palliate, if not justify, the rigorous laws enacted by those Puritan separatists against others, who carried out their own principles, and separated from them in like manner. In short, they *may* hope to sanctify so much of the prejudice or bigotry, so much of the intolerance and persecution, of the Puritans, as may, by possibility, work to their own present advantage."

Now considering the character of this passage, we took great credit to ourselves for smothering the natural indignation which we felt upon reading it. We considered the insinuations with which it abounds utterly unjustifiable, and as uncalled for as

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they were disreputable to the maker. We thought, and still think, that a writer, who began in this style, did not deserve, and ought not to receive, great consideration at our hands. Yet, in comparison with his fault, we treated him gently. We resolved calmly to correct his errors, and to expose his disingenuousness, without a very nice regard to those rules of politeness which he had so grossly violated, yet with a due sense of the decorum becoming our position. We, therefore, abstained from any, even the remotest implication of motives, being desirous in his case, as in all others, whatever might be the nature of his transgression, not to justify it by following the example, so far as to ascribe to him any motives which he expressly disclaimed, or which we could not, by his own admission, distinctly prove.

Our author next specifies what *he supposes* to be the grounds upon which we bring the charges of disingenuousness and falsification of authorities; and having in this manner assumed such as suit himself, he appeals to us to say whether we have made our accusation good. This is a somewhat ingenious mode of evading the difficulties in which he has involved himself, but we fear it will not avail him. We advanced a charge of general perversion of historical facts to the purpose of his theory, upon the character of his *argument*, and the use made of them in it; but this is a wholly distinct affair from the other and more serious one, of misusing authorities, which we confined to the particular book he pretended to quote. In the first of the two cases we endeavoured to show the fallacy of his reasoning, by a statement of the facts, in the order which appears to us to be the natural one. In the other we went further, and exposed the precise instances in which he had committed a fault. But as he does not appear fully to have comprehended the force of either of the accusations we made, or their weight relative to each other, we will endeavour, as briefly as possible, again to set them in their strength before him.

And first, in regard to the passage of the "New York Review," beginning thus;—

"Surveying, in this manner, *the nature of the contest, in England, between Churchmen and Puritans*, we shall find it merely a *political*, NOT, as is usually represented, *a religious one*. This may fairly be inferred, from what is said by both of our authors. Professor Kingsley tells us (Disc. p. 55), 'Their (the Puritans') opposition to the Church of England was mainly political, and limited in a great measure to discipline.' And Mr. Bacon tells us (Disc. p. 14), that, 'of the many Puritans who came to New England at its first planting, none, save the pilgrims of Plymouth, had denounced the Church of England, or had separated themselves from its communion.' And, in another place, he asks,—

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'What were the Puritans? Let sober history answer. *They were a great religious and* POLITICAL *party*, in a country and in an age in which every man's religion was a matter of political regulation. *They were*, in their day, *the reforming party in the church and state of England.*' (p. 34.)" — p. 53.

We did not intend to be understood as affirming, that these extracts were not genuine, or that Professor Kingsley and Mr. Bacon did not mean what they here say. But we did intend to deny, that from them could be inferred any thing like what was inferred from them by our author. We deny, that Professor Kingsley is or can be made the file-leader, that he desires. In our former article we stated it as our opinion, that the Professor had gone too far in his assertion; but, upon a reconsideration of the spirit of his whole Discourse, and especially that sentence in which he affirms, "that the great object of the establishment of the colony was religion," we are convinced that we misinterpreted his language, and gave greater latitude to it than he himself intended. In no case, however, will the words quoted justify the argument that is made to rest upon them. The Professor tells us, that the opposition was "*mainly* political, and *limited*," he adds, "*in a great measure to discipline;*" and, taking the last clauses in connexion with the first, we are, on a revision, much inclined to think that Professor Kingsley used the word *political* with reference to the *polity of the church.* But, waving this, by a reference to the great Dictionary of Dr. Johnson, we find "mainly" to be rendered by the terms, "chiefly," "principally," "greatly," "powerfully," each of which implies a relation to some other object as a matter of comparison, and none of which, consequently, is exclusive in its signification. It is obvious, therefore, that the Professor, even with the utmost latitude of construction that can be taken of his meaning, designed to couple some other motive with that which he states to be the leading one. Mr. Bacon does so in terms so distinct, that one would suppose there could have been neither misunderstanding nor perversion of them. Yet what is the position assumed upon these authorities? Is it not, that "*the nature of the contest in England between Churchmen and Puritans*, we shall find *merely a political*, NOT, as is usually represented, *a religious one.*" Who would not suppose from this, that Professor Kingsley and Mr. Bacon had affirmed that religion had nothing to do with the matter? What does Dr. Johnson tell us of the word "*merely*"? He explains it to mean "simply," "only," — "*this and no other way*," "*for this and no other end*," — that is, a term of exclusive character, which bears no relation to any other. And our author, therefore, would have us infer with him this term of exclusion of all

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motives but the one assigned, out of a term which implies relation of one motive with another. And out of such a forced inference he would extract from the reading of the letter of the text, the direct opposite to its spirit and meaning. If such is the product of his studies in philology, we opine that they must be put in the same category with his discoveries in politics.

Yet we do not assert this perversion to be more than a mistake in *argument*, grounded upon a misconception of the true force of language. It is not disingenuous quotation. We shall give our reasons for making that charge upon different authority hereafter. At this time we will direct our attention to the attempt made by the author to turn off the edge of a certain very significant quotation made by us from Lord Clarendon, touching the question now at issue. The defence is, that the historian and the review do not treat of the same point of time. How just this is, may easily be understood, by a reference to the reviewer's general position, which was, that "the nature of the contest in England, between Churchmen and Puritans, was *merely* a political one." Hence he maintains, that the persecution which the Puritans suffered, was solely for political offences, and that their failure to secure the political ascendency in the mother country, by attempting which, they incurred that persecution, led to their emigration. To establish these points, it is true our author goes over the whole period of time, from 1570 to 1630, and it is equally true, that Lord Clarendon, in the passage quoted, speaks only of the years 1630 – 1635; yet in doing so the latter describes a state of feeling then prevalent in England, so utterly at variance with that which must have arisen upon the hypothesis assumed by the former, that, if once admitted to be true, it exposes the absurdity of it in a moment. And this is what we meant to do. There was, in fact, nothing that could be called a struggle for the political ascendency, in England, between Puritans and Churchmen, until after the last of these dates. And how that struggle was brought on, by the wanton violence of Laud, which drove the Puritans to the alternative of resistance or of unconditional submission, Lord Clarendon describes. The whole matter, therefore, resolves itself into this, that if we believe in the statement of Clarendon, respecting the causes of the rupture, we cannot put any faith in the entire theory of our author. If, on the other hand, we choose to follow the latter, then we must suppose that a contemporary did not know any thing of the events he was writing about. As there is no method of reconciling the two doctrines with each other, and we must take one or the other, we have no hesitation in pronouncing our opinion, which of them it is proper for us to adopt, and which to reject.

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Again, our author expresses much surprise at our refusal of the desired homage to Charles the First, as a patron of liberty, for the concession of the Massachusetts charter; and while doing so, claims for his father and his son almost an equal share. That he may the more effectually overwhelm us with his argument, he adopts the Socratic form of reasoning, and puts us upon the task of answering such questions as he is pleased to ask. Without appearing to reflect, that the public would be exceedingly fatigued by the length to which the discussion would, in this manner, be drawn out, he winds up with a note of triumph, in anticipation, at the *inconvenience* to which he could put us. We are perfectly free to confess, that it would be highly inconvenient to our readers and to ourselves to do what he would have us. It would be, moreover, a mere waste of time to repeat again and again what we have already said. But this would make the *only* sort of inconvenience which we should feel. For, in the whole range of his questions, our author advances nothing new, — nothing extraordinary, — nothing that we have not, in substance, refuted already, — nothing, in short, that makes his case a whit stronger than it was before.

Yet, inasmuch as our author does not appear to seize the whole extent of our position respecting the charter, we will for his sake very briefly recapitulate. We maintain, that the charter was a grant of power to certain persons in England, without any regard to the principles of liberty, civil or religious. If it is taken up and examined with no reference to the construction put upon it by the Puritans, which we maintain to be *their own act*, we think it impossible not to be struck at once with the fact, that it was designed to constitute a Mercantile Corporation in Great Britain, (very much like the still existing East India Company,) who were by it empowered to send to Massachusetts as many settlers as they could induce to go, and to govern them, after they arrived, either directly or by deputy, exactly as they should think proper. To those settlers, if not previously admitted as stockholders into the company, no participation in the management was assured, and no security of their rights of any kind given, excepting the negative and superfluous reservation of citizenship at home, which by common law they could not lose. With men thus situated, we should no sooner think of associating principles of freedom, than with the miserable *ryots* of Patna and Benares, who are made the servile instruments of an English commercial company, to the demoralization of another nation, as a previous step to their gaining the dominion over it. We desire our author to understand, that we deny

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the existence in the charter, as it was originally granted, of any manifestation of intention to secure either of the two great principles of popular liberty which he mentions. We deny, that there is any thing that looks like universal suffrage in it. We deny, that there is any right admitted of a majority to govern, if by majority is meant more than a majority of stockholders in England. To this majority, every thing was originally designed to be subject. And in this view of the charter, we are happy to find ourselves, to some extent, supported by an authority we little anticipated the pleasure of quoting. It is no other than that of our author himself, who very kindly has pointed out to us in his letter a preceding article of his in the "New York Review," which we had accidentally overlooked. In this article, which appears to have been written at least two years before the one we have been considering, it is distinctly admitted, that a colonist, as such, had no civil rights under the charter, but derived them only as a freeman of the company; and that what he is pleased to call the Jacobin doctrine of universal suffrage, was never dreamed of at the time of granting it. We will not, however, let this rest merely upon our own assertion. These are his words.

"In accordance with the principles of English common law, every *freeman* of the corporation was entitled to vote in the choice of Governor and Assistants, and in the enactment of all laws. We find, therefore, in the charter of Massachusetts Bay, all the great principles of liberty; but, at the same time, it is to be noted, that not every inhabitant of the colony was therefore a freeman in the technical sense of the word, that is, entitled to vote. The men of those times understood, too well, the nature of sound government and rational freedom, to suppose that it necessarily implied *universal* suffrage. Certain qualifications are certainly to be required for the exercise of such important rights. The *tests* of those qualifications, as settled by the colonists, may have been arbitrary, absurd, unjust; that is not the question now; we only think it important to note the fact, that certain qualifications were thought requisite. They never dreamed of the Jacobin doctrine of modern French theorists, that every human being, as such, has a *natural* right to vote." — *New York Review*, Vol. II. p. 94.

Now we have always supposed that the common law of England secured to every citizen certain rights by prescription; yet it would seem by the statement of our author, that unless he was also a freeman, that is, a member of the company under the charter, he could not enjoy them in Massachusetts. According to him, the charter was the source of the privileges of common law, and the common law was not the source of the charter. It is not our province to re-

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concile any of his inconsistencies. The fact is enough for us, that the charter, so far as it went, was restrictive, and in defiance of the principles of common law ; and that the pretence, he now makes, of finding universal suffrage in its contents, is set at nought by his former affirmation to the contrary.

The point which we maintain on behalf of the Puritans is, that out of this very unpromising commercial charter which had nothing originally to recommend it but its grant of power, they, *by their own act*, for the merits and defects of which they, and they alone, must be held responsible, made a republican form of government. Upon this rough stock, they engrafted the principle of suffrage, necessarily limited in the first instance, — not by a money line, but by the fear lest their whole plan should be subverted by cunning and powerful enemies, — but susceptible of easy extension whenever the favorable moment was at hand. And they also engrafted the principle of representation, and of a legislative body divided into two branches, which, though necessary to all free governments, were nowhere provided for in the charter. Indeed, the original grant contemplated nothing of the kind, — nothing beyond the four courts held annually, in Leadenhall Street in London, by the present East India Company of Great Britain.

It was the extraordinary construction put upon this instrument by the Puritans, through which they first transferred the seat of government to Boston, and then set to work to raise an active, efficient, and an almost independent national power, out of a trading speculation, — it was this that awakened the attention of the sovereign and his advisers in the mother country. They saw at once that their intentions had not been adhered to. They understood the necessity of immediately taking measures of effectual prevention; but it was already too late. The first design appears to have been to gain the control of the colony through the agency of some of the company, and by the means furnished in the charter itself; but, this failing by reason of the requisition of church membership as a qualification to constitute freemen, at which our author has taken so great offence, the next step was the dissolution of the instrument. And this would certainly have followed, if the rising of that tremendous storm at home had not diverted the attention of the parties in power to efforts for their own defence, yet all in vain. And thus it happened, that the colony of Massachusetts continued to bask in that sunshine of divine Providence, which its infancy required.

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Having thus given our view of the proceedings under the charter, it will be at once visible, that we persist in maintaining the position heretofore assumed, "that the principles, which form at once the basis and characteristic of our political institutions, were established in New England by the agency of the Puritans." And, when we use the word "agency," we mean something more than that they were "parties concerned in bringing about measures they did not themselves understand." This may be our author's definition of the word. It is not ours. According to him, they would have been mere instruments. We regard them as responsible moral agents. This distinction is not without its importance in the present discussion. For we will now take the occasion of drawing it, to enter a general protest against the whole theory of history which has been broached by our author in both of his articles. We regard it as utterly subversive of all right judgment upon human action, as well as of the ordinary and only sound rules of moral discrimination. We shall never assent to the doctrine, that the principles of popular liberty now universally recognised among us to be true, have been the offspring of circumstances only, nor that the most arbitrary monarchs known in history are the most meritorious promoters of their spread. We desire to look into the records of the past for the important lessons it can give to mankind for the future. If they have to tell us only of lucky accidents, then let the books be shut up for ever;

"Si fors ista dedit nobis, fors ipsa gubernet."

Men need not trouble their heads with the stream of time, if they have nothing to do but to float upon it. Surely, we owe no gratitude to King John or Edward the First of England, merely because they raised the popular feature of the government a little, that they might the better secure their own power against the assaults of the aristocracy. We give James the Second no credit for advocating toleration against the preponderating system of the Church of England. We do not consider Sylla a patriot, though he abdicated his ill-gotten dictatorship; or Napoleon a friend of freedom, because he was made Emperor by the adoption of a form of popular suffrage. The great element for all judgment of actions is the *intent*. We do not mean to deny, that highly beneficial results to the world may occasionally be the consequence of the most indifferent moral conduct; but it is one thing to assign to the simple fact its weight, and another thing to attach merit to its cause; — one thing to analyze the elements of action, and

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another to undermine the whole edifice of moral responsibility, by arbitrarily confounding the motives of good with the actions of bad men.

Having now completed all that we think necessary to be said respecting the argument of our author, we will proceed at once to the objections made by us to his use of the quotations from "The Planter's Plea." It is not without surprise, that we perceive he attempts to misunderstand the nature of those objections. He asks us, "what we mean by falsification of authority. One would suppose," he adds, "that it was misquoting, or the application of language used in reference to one point to that used in reference to another, &c., or the garbling of a passage, *so as* to make it tell a different story from what the author intended. But no charge of this kind is made against the author of the article in the 'New York Review.'" If this is so, then we have greatly misconceived the force of our own language. Perhaps Shakspeare will be more intelligible to our author when he says,

> — "men may construe things after their fashion,
> *Clean from the purpose of the things themselves.*"

We certainly meant to bring the charge, that the reviewer did make his quotation tell a different story from what its author intended, and we thought that we had brought the proof; but, as it does not appear to have been stated with satisfactory distinctness in the former instance, we beg leave to submit it to the public over again, though we must at the same time apologize for troubling them again with it, on the plea that it is strictly in self-justification.

In the "New York Review" for January, 1840, (No. 11,) we find the following passage.

> "We have now arrived at a point where it will be proper for us to pause a moment, and consider the motives, which induced the colonists to leave home and settle in the wilderness. And that our readers may have an opportunity of hearing the testimony of one who lived at the time, we shall give them a sketch of the 'Planter's Plea,' and a few extracts from its pages. The Plea commences with an examination of the 'ground and warrant of colonies.' The second chapter is an answer to the question, 'What ends may be proposed in planting colonies?' To this the author answers, first;
>
> "'Some and the *worst*, and the least warrantable, are such as are only swayed by private respects; as when men shift themselves, and draw others with them, out of their countries, *out of undutiful affection to governors, to exempt themselves from subjection to lawful power*, or aim at a great name to themselves, and to raise their own glory.'
>
> "The author then proceeds," &c. — pp. 62, 63.

Now it must be remembered, that the preceding argument

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of our author had been, that "when the Puritans left England, they did it, not because they could not worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, but because they could not obtain the political ascendency which they sought." The marking in italic letters, the words of the citation which are so marked, has therefore a bearing upon the proposition that had been advanced. And the general reader, who knows nothing of "The Planter's Plea," excepting what he sees of it here, is unavoidably left with the impression, that the Planter himself intended to insinuate, that "undutiful affection to governors," &c., was the motive for the plantation of the Puritans, and that he is here cited for the sole purpose of introducing "the authority of one who lived at the time," in order to the better determination of what these motives really were. All this would have been very well for the reviewer to have himself maintained; but, when he puts his own position into the mouth of his authority, he does in point of fact make that authority say the exact contrary of what it means. To show this conclusively, we have only to add the remainder of the passage, as it stands in the original.

"As for the enlargement of trade, which drew on the Spanish and Dutch colonies in the East Indies, or securing of conquered countries, which occasioned many colonies of the Romanes in Italy and other lands, they may bee so far warranted as the grounds of the conquests or trades were warrantable; (if they were carried without injury or wrong to the natives;) seeing natural commerce between nations, and conquests upon just warres, have been alwayes approved by the lawes of God and man.

"As for those colonies, that have been undertaken upon the desire either of disburthening of full states of unnecessary multitudes, or of replenishing vast and voyd countries, they have a cleare and sufficient warrant from the mouth of God, as immediately concurring with one special end that God aimed at in the first institution thereof.

"But seeing God's honour and glory, and next men's salvation, is his own principall scope in this and all his wayes; it must withall bee necessarily acknowledged, that the desire and respect unto the publishing of his name where it is not knowne, and reducing men that live without God in this present world, unto a forme of piety and godlinesse, by how much the more immediately it suites with the mind of God, and is furthest carried from private respects, by so much the more it advanceth this worke of planting colonies above all civill and humane ends, and deserves honour and approbation above the most glorious conquests or successfull enterprises that ever were undertaken by the most renowned men that the sun hath seene, and that by how much the subduing of Satan is a more glorious act than a victory over men, and the enlargement of Christ's kingdome than the adding unto men's dominion, and the saving of men's soules than the provisions for their lives and bodies.

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"It seemes this end in plantation hath beene specially reserved for this later end of the world," &c. — pp. 9, 10.

The passage is rather long, but we could not shorten it and clearly establish our point, which is, that the Planter intended to affirm religion to have been the motive for the plantation then in hand, and to show how low and contemptible all other motives, however good in themselves, were in comparison with it. Now we do maintain, that, when considering those motives, if the author in the "New York Review" professed to give from the Planter what he thought they were, he should not have selected the worst and most derogatory to the human character, that were mentioned only for the sake of contrast, without stating even that fact, and have entirely suppressed all notice of those better ones which were positively assigned. We know not what our author may think, but we call this garbling.

Something is however said about the use of italic letters to make sentences emphatic, and a feeble attempt is made to turn upon us, for *not* emphasizing all the words quoted from others in a passage of our author quoted by us, the charge which we originally brought against him of giving no notice when the use of italic letters changes the sense of an author cited. To this a very brief answer is enough. We understand a broad line to lie between the making of a sentence emphatic merely for the purpose of putting in bolder relief its manifest and simple application, and the so laying emphasis upon one part of a passage at the expense of the remainder, as to give to the whole a particular meaning, which, if read in the ordinary way, it would not bear. The first course may be adopted, with or without notice, by any writer, without incurring any censure. It was resorted to by our author in many instances, and we made it the subject of no remark. But when he practised the other, as he did, we think, in the case in hand, it is our opinion that he should have put the reader on his guard against misapprehension. For his failure to do this gave to his citation an application to a particular point of his own making, which it never could otherwise have been made to bear.

Neither is it enough, in our estimation, that an author, when he quotes a passage, should confine himself to the "*precise words*," if he stops short of giving the whole sense of it. We did not charge the writer in the "New York Review" with forging, or inserting extraneous matter in his quotations. We charged him with a suppression of certain important words, which were essential to the full meaning of the author he quoted. In the oath ordinarily administered in our courts of

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law, as much consequence attaches to the words, "the *whole* truth," as to the other terms, "the truth," and "nothing but the truth." And so it is in the rules for quotation. We consider our author as having overlooked this in the following instance. Page 63, he says,

"Our author then goes on to speak more at large of the *motives* which induced them to come. He says, 'As it were absurd to conceive they have all one mind, so it were more ridiculous to imagine they all have one scope. *Necessity* may press some, novelty draw others, hopes of gain may prevail with a third sort,' but he is persuaded, 'that the most sincere and godly part have the advancement of the Gospel for their main scope.'

"These facts, and abundance of others of a similar nature, contained in the work, authorize the inference that the colonists were regarded as factious persons, and that their opponents did not credit the pretension that the advancement of the Gospel was the *sole* or *chief* object of their emigration. It is here also confessed, by one of the party, that 'necessity,' 'novelty,' and 'hope of gain,' as well as love of the Gospel, were among the causes that moved the colonists to come to this country." — p. 64.

When persons are about to draw inferences which they hold to be authorized, they ought to be very sure that they state the facts correctly upon which they rest. It will not do to affirm, that one of a party *confesses* that "necessity," "novelty," and "hope of gain," *were* causes for their colonizing, when he tells us, "he shall make bold to manifest *not only what he knows, but what he guesses*, concerning their purpose." He accordingly proceeds to "guess," that among many men there *may be* many motives, and among these motives, such as he mentions *may* prevail with a few; but this is surely a very different thing from saying that he knew they did prevail. Moreover, in the extract as made, it does not appear, that any idea is given of the proportion in which these motives would be supposed to predominate. For "the most sincere and godly part" might, notwithstanding, have been, as it generally is, a very small part of the whole. But the text does not give it to be so understood. It expressly affirms, that "the most," or in other words, *the greatest number*, as well as "the most sincere and godly part, have the advancement of the Gospel for their main scope." We therefore insist, that the omission of these two little words makes a very great difference in the sense of the passage cited; a difference which, considering the sinister inferences that were designed to be drawn against the characters of the individuals concerned in the settlement, can in no way be reconciled to the principles of justice and fair dealing.

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If therefore, in our review, we used the words "falsification of authority," as applicable to the course of our author, it will be seen, that we did so, not without what we hold to be abundant justification. We consider the true sense of "The Planter's Plea" to have been perverted, in the passages which we have quoted, so far as he is relied upon to sustain the inference, that other and mere worldly motives had quite as much influence in the settlement of New England as religion, when he distinctly and repeatedly declares, that, as far as the diversities of human nature will ever allow, religion was the great and only motive; and, further, that those lower motives operated upon many of the settlers, when he asserts, that, if they operated at all, they were confined to few. Nor, in justification of these perversions, will it do to say, that it is taking the evidence of a witness against himself; for there is no confession, other than what his enemy arbitrarily thrusts into his mouth. His meaning, when gathered, as it should be, from the whole of the context, is plain, and can only be avoided by torturing and maiming his language. That our author has, in our opinion, attempted to do this, is the reason, and the only reason, why we have felt it necessary to treat his argument with a degree of unwonted severity. Of this he has no reason whatever to complain. Every writer, who voluntarily ventures to come before the public, does so under some degree of responsibility. If he has appeared to us to have overlooked or violated his trust, we, who profess to notice such things, have a high duty to perform to that public in warning them of his errors. And if, after a due setting forth of his offence, he insists upon making us follow him out into other expositions of it, we regret the necessity, but see no alternative.

We now drop the subject, conscious that it may not be of so much interest to general readers as to ourselves. We hope, that our author will be too wise to continue in the menacing tone of the conclusion of his present letter; and that he will cease to play the ghost for the future, or warn us of "Philippi." To say nothing of the taste of this, it is not so alarming as it sounds. We acquit ourselves of any wish to turn him into a spirit, though he seems to think, that we have dealt at him a few rather sharp passes. But, if the worst should come to the worst, and the fate of the younger Brutus be meted out to us, we shall hope, at least, to enjoy the credit, with the world, of enduring it like him, though in a far more humble walk, in the defence of the same general principles of liberty.

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Letter to the Hon. —— ——, with Reasons for Examining and Believing the Fundamental Principles of Homœopathy. By C. Ticknor, M. D. New York. 12mo. pp. 31.

The Useful Arts considered in Connexion with the Applications of Science; with numerous Engravings. By Jacob Bigelow, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica in Harvard University, Author of "The Elements of Technology," &c. &c. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 12mo. 2 vols. pp. 384 and 396.

Remarks on the Currency of the United States, and Present State and Future Prospects of the Country. By Publius. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo.

A New Series of Modern Maps. Parts I. and II. New York: Tanner and Disturnell.

Domestic Education. By Heman Humphrey, D. D., President of Amherst College. Amherst: J. S. & C. Adams. 18mo. pp. 239.

Register of all Officers and Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval, in the Service of the United States on the 30th of September, 1839, with the Names, Force, and Condition of all Ships and Vessels belonging to the United States, and when and where built; together with the Names and Compensation of all Printers in any way employed by Congress, or any Department of Government. Washington: A. B. Claxton & Co. 12mo. pp. 499.

The Soul in Bonds. Lowell: Published for the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Fair. 18mo. pp. 8.

Florula Bostoniensis. A Collection of Plants of Boston and its Vicinity; with their Generic and Specific Characters, Principal Synonyms, Descriptions, Places of Growth, and Time of Flowering, and Occasional Remarks. By Jacob Bigelow, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica in Harvard University, &c. Third Edition, enlarged; and containing a Glossary of Botanical Terms. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 12mo. pp. 468.

The Papers of James Madison, purchased by Order of Congress; being his Correspondence, and Reports of Debates during the Congress of the Confederation, and his Reports of Debates on the Federal

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Constitution; now published from the original Manuscripts deposited in the Department of State, by direction of the Joint Library Committee of Congress, under the Superintendence of Henry D. Gilpin. Washington: Langtree & O'Sullivan. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. cccl. and 1624.

A Course of Reading, drawn up by the Hon. James Kent, (late Chancellor of the State of New York,) for the Use of the Members of the Mercantile Library Association. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1840. 18mo. pp. 69.

It is a truly pleasant thing to see a veteran scholar, like the Ex-Chancellor of New York, extending, in this way, to the young merchant of his country, the benefit of his studies, wisdom, and experience. The course of reading marked out is particularly designed for those who have not had the advantage of what is called a liberal education. We may safely add, that many in the latter predicament may find assistance in its directions. There are few young men, whether preparing for the professions or the other pursuits of life, who do not call upon some friend, more advanced than themselves, for suggestions with regard to the books they should read. In preparing the present course, Chancellor Kent has relieved others, more or less, from the responsibility of such suggestions. He has given us all a high standard, and has shown himself the friend of the youth of his country; a title which, we doubt not, will be as agreeable to his amiable nature, as the fame from his elevated judicial labors.

MUSIC.

The Little Songster; consisting of Original Songs for Children, together with Directions to Teachers for Cultivating the Ear and the Voice, and Exercises for Teaching Children the First Rudiments of Singing. For the Use of Schools and Families. By George J. Webb. Boston: J. H. Wilkins & R. B. Carter. 16mo. pp. 96.

Little Songs for Little Singers. By Lowell Mason. Published under the Sanction of the Boston Academy of Music. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. Philadelphia: H. Perkins. 16mo. pp. 96.

NEW PERIODICALS.

The Monthly Chronicle of Events, Discoveries, Improvements, and Opinions, intended for the popular Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and an Authentic Record of Facts for Future Reference. Illustrated with Maps and Drawings. Vol. I. Nos. 1 and 2. Boston: Samuel N. Dickinson. $3 per annum. 8vo. pp. 60 and 60.

This important work is understood to be under the management of Mr. Nathan Hale, the able and experienced editor of the "Daily Advertiser," and well known as entitled, beyond any other person, to be reckoned the father of the system of Internal Improvement in New England. "It is intended, that the Monthly Chronicle shall be chiefly historical, and its leading object will be to record and disseminate matters of fact, and narratives of events, rather than to discuss principles, or to debate matters of opinion and taste. Yet as there are few subjects deeply connected with the great interests of society, which do not involve questions on which there are divided opinions, and as it would deprive this publication of a great part of its interest and value, either to exclude from it all subjects of a debateable nature, or to undertake to promulgate important doctrines, without any explanation of the principles on which they are founded, it is intended, that it shall embrace articles of a didactic and argumentative

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character, as well as those which are entirely historical and narrative. So also, as it is designed for the popular dissemination of knowledge, not merely of historical events, public improvements, and discoveries in the arts, but of the manners of the times, and of the condition of society in different countries, an attempt will be made, sometimes, to enliven it by aids from the imagination. Light and humorous sketches, in almost any form, suited to illustrate the character, manners, or usages, prevailing in any part of the world, and even effusions of poetic talent will be occasionally admitted. These productions of the imagination, however, will be rather exceptions from the general tenor of the work, than a substantial part of it, and, as well as the more serious discussions, they will be introduced with the hope of giving it something more of character and interest, and perhaps of authority, than it could otherwise have, as a mere compilation of facts, and tame record of events." — pp. 1, 2.

This scheme, in connexion with the talent which is to be brought to its prosecution, ought to insure to the work a liberal patronage. We look forward to its progress with the highest expectations. We consider the first two numbers as among the most valuable issues of the periodical press, which have, in a long time, come under our notice. There is scarcely any thing, now-a-days, more important, than an authentic account of passing events, such as a learned, fair, and intelligent witness, like the editor of this work, is able to present. The "Chronicle" will serve, substantially, the purpose of an Annual Register, while it has, from the frequency of its publication the advantage, over that kind of work, of producing its record more seasonably, and, over a newspaper, that of presenting intelligence in its proper relations and combinations, and with greater completeness.

The first number, for illustration of the history of the Florida war, contains the most complete map of Florida that has ever been published. The Index, at the end of each number, relating to all the matter of the preceding numbers, is a new arrangement, affording the most desirable facility for reference.

The Maryland Medical and Surgical Journal; and Official Organ of the Medical Department of the Army and Navy of the United States. Published under the Auspices of the Medical and Chirurgical Society of Maryland. Baltimore: John Murphy. Quarterly. pp. 136.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

Scenes in the Life of Joanna of Sicily. By Mrs. E. F. Ellet, Author of "Characters of Schiller." Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 12mo. pp. 254.

The Countess Ida; a Tale of Berlin. By the Author of "Norman Leslie," "Dreams and Reveries of a Quiet Man," &c. In Two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo.

Georgia Scenes, Characters, Incidents, &c., in the First Half Century of the Republic. By a Native Georgian. Second Edition, with Original Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 214.

The Pathfinder; or the Inland Sea. By the Author of "The Pioneers," "Last of the Mohicans," &c. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 240 and 233.

The Works of Washington Irving; containing the "Sketch Book," "Knickerbocker's History of New York," "Bracebridge Hall," "Tales of a Traveller," "Chronicles of the Conquest of Grenada," "The Al-

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hambra." In Two Volumes. With a Portrait. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. Royal 8vo. pp. 534 and 516.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

A Discourse pronounced at Barnstable, on the 3d of September, 1839, at the Celebration of the Second Centennial Anniversary of the Settlement of Cape Cod. By John Gorham Palfrey. Boston: Ferdinand Andrews. 8vo. pp. 71.

Address to the Medical Graduates of the University of Pennsylvania. Delivered April 3d, 1840. By Samuel Jackson, M. D., Professor of the Institute of Medicine in the University. Published by the Graduates. 8vo. pp. 21.

A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. Charles Follen, LL. D, who perished January 13th, 1840, in the Conflagration of the Lexington, delivered before the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in the Marlborough Chapel, Boston, April 17th, 1840. By Samuel J. May. Boston: Henry L. Devereux. 8vo. pp. 30.

A Discourse, delivered before the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, on Wednesday, February 12, 1840. By William Law. Savannah: Published for the Society. 8vo. pp. 43.

Valedictory Address to the Graduates of the Medical Department of Pennsylvania College. By William Rush, M. D. 8vo. pp. 16.

The Annual Address to the Candidates for Degrees and Licenses in the Medical Institution of Yale College, January 21st, 1840. By D. T. Brainard, M. D. Published by Request of the Class. New Haven. 8vo. pp. 6.

An Inaugural Address, delivered in the Chapel of the Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution, August 21st, 1839. By John S. Maginnis, Professor of Biblical Theology. Published by Request of the Students of the Institution. Utica. 8vo.

POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

Voices of the Night. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Second Edition. Cambridge: John Owen. 16mo. pp. xv., 144.

The Last Days of Jesus. A Poem. By Sophia L. Little. Pawtucket. 12mo. pp. 60.

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